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S. W. Kearny Brig. Gen.
Gov. of Calif.

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JOURNAL OF STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY.

EDITED BY VALENTINE MORT PORTER.

PART I.

THE COUNCIL BLUFFS-ST. PETER'S EXPLORATION (1820).

AN INCIDENT OF THE YELLOWSTONE EXPEDITION.

(A narrative of the first overland crossing by white persons between the upper Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, in an effort to open a route for the passage of United States troops between "Camp Missouri," later known as "Fort Atkinson," near the present city of Omaha, and "Camp Cold Water," the predecessor of Fort Snelling, near the present cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis.)

EDITORIAL PREFACE.

This journal¹ of the famous soldier, Stephen Watts Kearny, now printed for the first time, has unusual interest in being the only known record or account,² it is believed, of an early military exploration that was an incident of the pioneer movement of United States troops into the great trans-Mississippi region. Until 1818 no effort had been made to establish army posts beyond the Mississippi. Following the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory in 1803, the Americans had re-garrisoned a few minor cantonments evacuated by the Spanish,³ and had planted a few new posts, but practically

¹ The manuscript is the property of the Missouri Historical Society and was acquired by gift from the late Charles Kearny, Esq., of St. Joseph, Mo.

² A search of the records on file in the War Department has resulted in failure to find any mention of this expedition. A bare reference to it is found in Doty's *Journal: Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 215. In the *St. Louis Enquirer*, of July 25, 1820, there is a letter dated Council Bluffs, June 24, 1820, containing this statement: "Captain Magee, with a small command, is about setting out to mark a road from this position to the Falls of St. Anthony."

³ Although the Louisiana Territory was acquired from the French (1803), it will be remembered that it had been since 1763 in the possession of the Spanish. After the Treaty of St. Ildefonso (1800), which terminated Spain's interest, the French did not resume possession of the posts.

all of these were along the middle and lower river. The War of 1812 coming on soon afterward, and having its theatre east of the river, delayed the time when the military occupation of the new territory should begin, a necessary measure before it could safely be opened up for settlement. In that war what the western people had most to combat was not the British but their allies, the Indian savages, whose depredations had kept the settlements in constant dread, if not in actual danger, and had interfered seriously with the important fur trade, the chief frontier industry. Just as soon as the Americans had recovered sufficiently from the exhaustion of the war to consider the future, they were prompted by the budding spirit of nationalism to adopt a system of measures for their general security. Included in these was the erection of coast fortifications and a chain of military posts on the western frontier, beyond the Mississippi, in the populous Indian region. Thus began, in 1818, the movement of United States troops into that vast territory, where for many years they were to have their most characteristic service, and where by hard experience they were to develop certain methods of warfare that have come finally to exert an appreciable influence on all modern armies.

The military occupation of the north-west was undertaken in two independent expeditions. One had as its destination the head of navigation of the Mississippi, near the mouth of the St. Peter's (now the Minnesota) River. The other was directed to ascend the Missouri as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone River. They had as their immediate objects the protection of the northwestern frontier against Indian attacks, the extension of the great fur trade, and the checking of the influence of British traders with the Indians.⁴

The troops sent to the upper Mississippi consisted of the greater part (about 414 total strength⁵) of the Fifth United States Infantry, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel

⁴ See statement of the objects of the expedition, by Sec. of War John C. Calhoun, *Am. State Papers*, "Military Affairs," ii, p. 33.

⁵ Q. M. Gen. Rep., *ibid.* p. 36.

Henry Leavenworth. Leaving detachments as garrisons at Prairie du Chien and Fort Armstrong, the major portion of the command ascended the river as far as the mouth of the St. Peter's, a little below the Falls of St. Anthony, and erected barracks on the Mendota side. In the Spring of 1820, the encampment was so menaced by high water that the soldiers crossed to the opposite shore and chose a new camp-site which they called "Camp Cold Water," on account of a spring that gushed from a neighboring lime-stone rock. As the general location was considered to possess great advantages for the protection of the trade of Americans and the prevention of trade of foreigners, buildings were soon begun for a permanent post.⁶

The troops sent up the Missouri River and known as "The Yellow Stone Expedition," consisted of the Sixth United States Infantry, under command of Colonel Henry Atkinson, and the United States Rifle Regiment (formed from the four rifle regiments in existence prior to the reorganization of the Army), making a total strength of 1126.⁷ In 1819 this force had worked its way up the river as far as the "Council Bluff,"⁸ on the Nebraska side, and there established a post which was named "Camp Missouri."⁹ Secretary of War Calhoun, in a

⁶ The permanent post begun by Col. Leavenworth was first named "Fort St. Anthony." Before it was finished his transfer to the 6th Inf. caused his removal to another station. The construction was taken up and completed by Col. Josiah Snelling. The excellence of the work so impressed Gen. Winfield Scott, when he visited the post, that on his recommendation the name was changed in 1824 to "Fort Snelling," by which it is now known. ("Fort Snelling From Its Foundation to the Present Time": Gen. Richard W. Johnson, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 21. See also "Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling" (1819-1840), *ibid.*, ii-iii, p. 21.)

⁷ Q. M. Gen. Rep., "Military Affairs," *Am. State Papers*, ii, p. 35.

⁸ The "Council Bluff," so called by Lewis and Clark, on account of the council of Otoe and Missouri Indians held there with them on Aug. 3, 1804, was a steep bank rising abruptly from the river to a height of about 150 feet. (*Long's Expedition*: James, London Ed., p. 139.) The place is not to be confused with the city of similar name that grew up on the Iowa side.

⁹ "Camp Missouri" after 1821 and till its abandonment in 1827 was known as "Fort Atkinson," in honor of Colonel Atkinson. On the old site is now Fort Calhoun, a town in Washington Co., Neb., not far from Omaha. ("Old Fort Atkinson": W. H. Ellers, *Neb. Hist. Soc. Rep.*, iv, p. 18.)

letter¹⁰ to the Chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, had this to say about the location:

"The position at Council Bluffs is a very important one, and the post will consequently be rendered strong, and will be occupied by a sufficient garrison. It is about half way between St. Louis and the Mandan¹¹ Village, and is at that point on the Missouri which approaches the nearest to the post at the mouth of the St. Peter's, with which in the event of hostilities it may coöperate. It is, besides, not more than 180 miles in advance of our settlements on the Missouri and is in the center of the most powerful tribes and the most numerous Indian population west of the Mississippi. It is believed to be the best position on the Missouri to cover our flourishing settlements in that quarter and ought, if it were wholly unconnected with other objects, to be established for that purpose alone."

The feasibility of coöperation between the troops at Council Bluff (Camp Missouri) and at the mouth of the St. Peter's, on the Mississippi, was of course dependent upon a practicable overland route between the two posts, a distance of not over three hundred miles as the crow flies, since the water route, by way of the two great rivers, meant a laborious trip of at least twelve hundred miles. Steamboat¹² transportation

¹⁰ "Military Affairs," *Am. State Papers*, ii, p. 33. See also Pres. Monroe's 2d Annual Message, Nov. 16, 1818, and his 3d An. Message, Dec. 7, 1819.

¹¹ Mandan Village was the habitation of the Mandan Indians, situated about 60 miles above the present site of Bismarck, N. D., and near the mouth of Knife River.

¹² Gen. Atkinson's troops, comprising the Yellowstone or Missouri River Expedition (being known under both names), had started from St. Louis with five steamboats, the *Jefferson*, *Expedition*, *Johnson*, *Calhoun*, and *Exchange*. There is no record of the last two ever entering the Missouri River. The *Jefferson* gave out and abandoned the trip 30 miles below Franklin, Mo. The *Expedition* and *Johnson* wintered at Cow Island, a little above the mouth of the Kansas, and returned to St. Louis the following spring. Gen. Atkinson invented a paddle wheel device worked by hand that was used thereafter. The failure of the steamboats was a material factor in causing the troops to winter at Council Bluff and abandon the project of ascending further up the river. (Chittenden: "*American Fur Trade*," ii, p. 570.) Long's engineering party, undeterred by the experience of the military expedition, made a trip up the Missouri in their specially built steamboat, the *Western Engineer*. The boat occasionally made as much as three miles an hour, but the machinery broke down so often that it was commonly laid up for repairs. (See *Long's Expedition*: James, Reprinted in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, xiv, 39-199.) Atkinson's troops in 1825 did ascend the river to its headwaters. See *infra*, Ed. Preface.

was then in its infancy and was regarded with suspicion. Hand power, on the western rivers, was thought to be better in the long run, just as in modern days, the first automobiles on account of their frequent breakdowns were thought to be less reliable than horses for long distances.

So important, then, was the opening up of an overland route between the two posts, that the Army authorities made it one of four specific undertakings for the troops in the Missouri and Mississippi expeditions for the year 1820, as we learn from a letter of the Quartermaster General to Secretary Calhoun, appended to a report addressed to the House Committee on Military Affairs.¹³

From the opening statement in Kearny's journal it appears that the task was entrusted to Captain Magee, of the Rifle Regiment, Lieutenant Talcott, of the Engineers, and fifteen soldiers. Lieutenant-Colonel Willoughby Morgan, of the Rifle Regiment, Captain Kearny, of the Second Infantry, and two junior officers accompanied the party. Four servants, an Indian guide, his wife and papoose, eight mules and seven horses completed the outfit. The journey from post to post took twenty-three days, and during the latter part of it the explorers had but vague notion of their whereabouts. Their arrival at Camp Cold Water, the destination, produced a great sensation in that garrison, inasmuch as they were the first white persons to cross from the Missouri to the Mississippi River at such distance above the confluence.

The route traversed, in Kearny's estimation, was impracticable for any but small parties. The want of timber, the scarcity of water, and the rugged character of the hills made the region almost impassable, and, as he thought, would forever prevent it from supporting more than a thinly scattered population. Yet in a comparatively short stretch of time this very region opened to considerable settlement, and now embraces northern Iowa and southeastern Minnesota.

The members of the party enjoyed a few days' entertain-

¹³ "Military Affairs," *Am. State Papers*, ii, p. 32, No. 4. See also letter of Calhoun, *ibid.*, p. 33, and Pres. Monroe's 4th An. Message, Nov. 14, 1820.

ment at the post, as guests of Colonel and Mrs. Leavenworth, and made a visit to the Falls of St. Anthony, before they began their return by boat down the Mississippi. Traveling in flat-boats, they made stops at Prairie du Chien, Fort Armstrong, and other interesting points, the account ending with the arrival at St. Louis.

Stephen Watts Kearny, the writer of the journal, was born in 1794, at Newark, N. J., and lived there some years. He was a student at King's College (now Columbia) in New York City. At the outbreak of the War of 1812, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Thirteenth United States Infantry, and served under Captain John E. Wool. Captured after the Battle of Queenstown, he was soon exchanged. He offered to serve at the head of a marine force in Chauncy's fleet on Lake Erie, but his offer was not accepted. He was made captain, April 1, 1813. After the war he was transferred to the Second Infantry, with headquarters first at Sackett's Harbor, and later at Plattsburg. Probably he accompanied the Sixth Infantry, under Colonel Atkinson, when that regiment went west to form part of the Yellowstone Expedition, for in 1820, when he began this journal, he was at Council Bluff, where a camp had been established by that command in the Spring of that year. In 1821 he went to the Third Infantry, with station at Detroit, but soon afterward transferred to the First Infantry, which had headquarters at Baton Rouge. In 1823 he was brevetted major for ten years' faithful service in one grade. He went with General Atkinson, in 1825, to the headwaters of the Missouri in "The Yellowstone Expedition"¹⁴ which had been begun and interrupted in 1819. (See note 12.) He received his actual majority in May, 1829. He became lieutenant-colonel of the First Dragoons on March 4, 1833, and colonel, July 4, 1836. Soon after the outbreak of the Mexican War he was made brigadier-general, June 30, 1846, and put in charge of the "Army of

¹⁴ The journals of that expedition, by Kearny, Atkinson, and Kennerly, will be published in later numbers of the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*.

the West," which marched to New Mexico, and took possession of that territory. Leaving New Mexico in charge of Colonel Doniphan, of the Missouri Volunteers, he pushed on to California to conduct a campaign there. His gallant and meritorious conduct on the Pacific coast, especially at the Battle of San Pasqual, December 6, 1846, when he was twice wounded, won him a major-generalship. From March to June, 1847, he was Governor of California. Then he went to join the army in Mexico, and became military and civil governor of Vera Cruz, March, 1848, and of the City of Mexico in the following May. He died October 31, 1848,¹⁵ at St. Louis. The funeral was the most imposing ever seen in this city up to that time. The church service was held at St. George's, northwest corner of Locust and Seventh Streets, and the interment was in the Episcopal Cemetery.

THE JOURNAL.

Sunday, July 2d, 1820—at 7 a. m. left Council Bluffs,¹⁶ for the St. Peters,¹⁷ our party consisting of Lieut Col Morgan,¹⁸

¹⁵ Appleton's *Cyc. Am. Biog.*, iii, p. 496, Billon's *Annals of St. Louis*, and statement of his granddaughter, Mrs. Western Bascome, of St. Louis.

¹⁶ The original "Council Bluff," on the Nebraska side, the scene of Lewis and Clark's council with the Indians (see foot-note, 8). The military post there at the time this journal was written was known as "Camp Missouri."

¹⁷ "St. Peters," now the Minnesota, River. The destination of the party was the military post on the Mississippi at the mouth of the St. Peter's (see foot-note, 6).

¹⁸ WILLOUGHBY MORGAN, born in Virginia. Captain 12th Infantry, 25 March, 1812; Major, 26 June, 1813; retained 17 May, 1815, as Captain in the Rifle Regiment with brevet of Major from 26 June, 1813; Major, 8 March, 1817; Lt. Colonel, 10 Nov., 1818; transferred to 6th Infantry, 1 June, 1821, to 5th Infantry, 1 Oct., 1821, to 3rd Infantry, 31 Jan., 1829; Colonel, 1st Infantry, 23 April, 1830; brevet Colonel, 10 Nov., 1828, for ten years' faithful service in one grade; died, 4 April, 1832. (See Heitman: *Hist. Reg. & Dic. U. S. Army.*)

myself, Capt. Magee,¹⁹ Lieuts. Pentland²⁰ & Talcot²¹ with 15 soldiers, 4 servants, an Indian Guide, his wife & papoose, with 8 mules & 7 horses—Capt. Magee with the 15 soldiers assisted by Lieut. Talcot of the engineers, compose an exploring party to discover a route, across country, between the 2 Posts.

Reached Lisa's²² about 9 & sent a boat with our mules & horses, & on her return followed her previous track: viz descended the Missouri to the Bowyer²³ & landed on the eastern side of it, a mile from its mouth; a strong southerly wind rendered it difficult to manage our boat. encamped for the night; until 2 P. M. the day was stormy, when it cleared away cool & pleasant.

July 3d.—

during last night a severe storm of rain Thunder & Light-

¹⁹ MATTHEW J. MAGEE, born in Pennsylvania. Captain Pittsburgh Blues, Pennsylvania Volunteers, from Aug., 1812, to Dec., 1813; Captain, 4th U. S. Rifle Regiment, 17 March, 1814; honorably discharged, 15 June, 1815; reinstated, 1 Jan., 1816, as 1st Lieutenant of ordnance with brevet of Captain from 17 March, 1814; Captain, 1 May, 1816, to rank from 10 Feb., 1815; transferred to the Rifle Regiment, 11 Sept., 1818, to 6th Infantry 1 June, 1821, to 5th Infantry, 3 Oct., 1821; died 29 June, 1824.

²⁰ CHARLES PENTLAND, born in Pennsylvania. Ensign, 4th U. S. Rifles, 16 Sept., 1814; 3rd Lieut., 19 Sept., 1814; retained in the Rifle Regiment, 17 May, 1815; 2d Lieut., 9 Oct., 1817; 1st Lieut., 31 July, 1818; Regimental Adjutant, Feb., 1818, to April, 1821; transferred to 6th Infantry, 1 June, 1821; Regimental Adjutant, 1 June, 1821, to 21 July, 1823; Captain, 21 July, 1823; dismissed 15 Feb., 1826.

²¹ ANDREW TALCOTT, born in Connecticut and appointed from there Cadet at the Military Academy, 14 March, 1815; brevet 2d Lieut. of Engineers, 24 July, 1818; 2d Lieut., 14 Aug., 1818; 1st Lieut., 1 Oct., 1820; brevet Captain, 1 Oct., 1830, for ten years' faithful service in one grade; Captain, 22 Dec., 1830; resigned 21 Sept., 1836; (died 22 April, 1883.)

²² MANUEL LISA, one of the most active persons engaged in the fur trade. Born of Spanish parentage in New Orleans, Sept. 8, 1772, he moved in 1799 to St. Louis, engaged in the fur trade and acquired great influence over the Indians of the upper Missouri. He organized the highly successful St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company and built near the present site of Omaha a trading post that became known as "Fort Lisa." He died in St. Louis Aug. 12, 1820. (A special article on *Manuel Lisa* is in preparation for a later number of the *Collections*.)

²³ "Bowyer," now usually spelt "Boyer."

ning, about 8 A.M. it subsided, when we ordered the boat to Camp which had yesterday ferried us to this place & about 10 left our encampment; passed thro' a low bottom, having on our left a high broken bluff & on the left a ravine & beyond that gently swelling hills, well timbered—crossed the ravine at 1 P. M. & halted to feed, one of our party shot a deer; from here ascended a hill & continued on a high dividing ridge, having on both sides high broken hills; no timber—halted, near a ravine. made today as we suppose 15 miles. Our gen'l course has been about north. the wind is from that quarter & the day has been cool and pleasant.

July 4th.

Left our camp shortly after 6 A. M., & traveled over rolling prairies, but indifferently watered, & reached the Bowyer at 1 P.M. a distance of 12 miles—from hence proceeding in a parallel direction to the river, crossed two ravines (with water) & reached a third where we encamped—our course today has been a little *E* of North—made 20 miles. The Bowyer is but thinly clothed with wood, tho' frequently the highlands in the rear are well covered. The day cool & pleasant, & wind North East. This day being the anniversary of our Independence, we celebrated it, to the extent of our means; an extra gill of whiskey was issued to each man, & we made our dinner on pork & biscuit & drank to the memory of our forefathers in a *mint julep*. Lieut. Talcot took an observation & found our camp to be $41^{\circ} 49\frac{3}{4}'$ —

July 5th.

On awakening this morning, found my blankets as wet as if they had been thrown into the river. I have frequently had occasion to remark the excessive dews that fall in this section of the country. Crossed the ravine, & at 7 A.M., our party was again on its march; followed the river course, a little *E.* of North and being in the advance of the party, rode to the summit of the Bluff on our right & on a broken & barren spot was attacked by a swarm of small wasps, with yellow wings & very small heads & not being disposed to contest the

point, for the dominion of that tract, of which they were the previous Inhabitants, I made a rapid retreat, not however until I was severely stung by some of the most enraged.—crossed the Bowyer at 1 P.M. ten miles from last night's camp, & 45 from the mouth; the water here being 3 foot deep—from this the Western shore of the river assumed the character the eastern had in the rear, viz a bottom, extending half a mile from the water & hills gently rising from it; a few miles brought us to a ravine, with a good spring & after crossing it, took a North course, & passed over a continuation of very high, broken hills, with no timber, & but indifferent soil; reached a small creek, where we encamped, with wood enough to make us a fire & supply our other wants; it empties into the Bowyer, about a half mile from us; made today 21 miles; weather cool, clear & pleasant.

July 6th.

Started at 7 A.M.—

Last night we found quite cool, & three blankets, for a covering, were by no means uncomfortable. The mosquitoes, however, were very troublesome & tho' I am benefitted by Lieut. Talcot's *mosquito net*, we had not sufficiently secured it to prevent the entrance of these annoying little insects—

Crossed the creek, which we called Morgan's²⁴ Creek, & were engaged till 11 A.M. in continually *de- & ascending* high hills, with no indication of timber, or of a single tree, when we halted on a ravine with a little water for our dinner, having previously crossed two others, of a similar character—at 1 P.M., recommenced our march, & after proceeding a few miles, saw from the summit of a high hill some timber, to the West, at however, a very great distance; from this point the hills commence running in a different direction, viz *N. & S* & we find the traveling somewhat easier, as we are enabled to take advantage of the ridges—halted at sunset, near a small drain of water, but without wood, having made 22 miles & over a country, tho' without timber, yet pretty well watered by small drains—

²⁴ In honor of the senior officer accompanying the expedition.

The dull monotony of traveling over the Prairies is occasionally interrupted by the feats of *Horsemanship* displayed by our squaw, & the affection & gallantry shewn toward her & her Papoose (an infant of but Four months old) by the Indian Guide.

Four of our party went in pursuit of a *gang of elk* which we observed, a mile from our camp, but returned unsuccessful, about 9 P.M.

July 7th.

In consequence of having no timber, & being desirous of procuring some, started at 4 A.M. & continued our course North, for 10 miles, when we halted on a ravine for breakfast. The country is gradually assuming a more level appearance & many elk are seen, to the right & left of us, but at too great a distance to pursue—we have headed the Head waters of the *Soldier river*, which is laid down on the maps incorrectly; inasmuch as it is made to appear a very considerable stream, & having its source near the Racoon branch, of the Des Moines; proceeded on our route; saw many gangs of buck elks, & some of our party fired at them, but at too great distance to kill any; shot a badger, which was given to the Guide, who has been all day very sick, in consequence of living on salt provisions, which he is unaccustomed to—halted at 6 P.M., on a ravine, with no timber, the want of which we begin to feel—made today 21 miles.

July 8th.

During last night we experienced a severe storm of rain, accompanied by Thunder & Lightning, which from our exposed situation, in the open Prairie, we find by no means agreeable.

Started, at 5 A.M. at which time it cleared away & ten miles from camp, left the Party & the route they were pursuing, & rode a mile to the Eastward & saw a mound which had been erected seven years since over the remains of an Indian

chief, of the *Sioux Nation*; this mound is circular, the diameter of which is 12 feet, elevation 6, & having a pole of 12 feet standing in the centre—'Tis on a high hill which overlooks a vast extent of country— About noon, observed a large Bull buffaloe, which a few of us pursued—Having the fleetest horse, I rode in front, & shot three pistol balls into him, not more than at 10 feet distance, two more balls were afterward fired into him, when he fell; we chased him about 2 miles; he is very large, & would weigh a thousand weight. proceeded & reached a fine stream, 20 yards wide, which our guide says is the *Leve Grave*, a branch of the Sioux, & so called from a trader of that name having first traded with the Indians on this river; sent back four mules to bring up the buffaloe, which some men have been left to butcher, & having got some timber, determined to remain here, 'til tomorrow, having made 16 miles, & after traveling 59, without the use of wood, and with the exception of a single hill, without sight of any—we welcomed the fire as an old acquaintance & soon banqueted upon a buffaloe feast, the meat of which is far preferable to our common beef—

Near the banks of this river, the country is much broken—high steep hills, with scattered stones, the last of which we have seen little or nothing of during our journey.

N.B. The above Indian was named *Shaton de Tou* (Red Hawk),²⁵ was a powerful chief of the Sissetons²⁶ (a band of the Sioux) & was the first that visited the Prophet (about the time of the Declaration of War) on the Wabash, from his tribe & he excited his whole nation to take up arms against the Americans.

We saw today many elk in the Prairie, but were unable to approach near enough to shoot any—

²⁵ RED HAWK was one of the chiefs in the large party of Sioux, allies of the British, that were with Gen. Proctor and Col. Robert Dickson in 1813 in the attack on Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, which was gallantly defended by Major George Croghan (Grignon's *Recollections*, 3 *Wis. Hist. Collections*, p. 270.)

²⁶ SISSETONS [Sussitongs or Sissitonwans], a band of the Sioux numbering according to Gen. Zebulon Pike about 2160 at the time of his expedition, 1805-7.

July 9th. Sunday—

The squaw this morning quite sick, in consequence of eating too greedily of the Buffaloe.

We were detained until about 4 P.M., in order to jerk our fresh meat, & during which time Lieut. Talcot took an observation, & found our Camp to be in Lat. $42^{\circ}58'$ & we conclude we have underrated the distance we have traveled about 10 miles— When about to start, found the river had risen two or three feet, & therefore we determined to travel round the bend, & not cross it, tho' our distance may probably be lengthened 5 or 6 miles—crossed over some high hills, & reached a handsome stream of water quite deep & ten yards wide, emptying into the *Leve Grave*, over which we felled some trees, on which our baggage was crossed, & having swam our horses and mules, encamped on a narrow point, surrounded by high hills & on the creek, which we called *Mary's Stream*—having made about 4 miles.

July 10th.

During last night, we had some rain, with Thunder & Lightning; the mosquitoes we found so excessively annoying as almost to exhaust all our patience.

Left camp, at 6 A.M., passed over some high hills, well covered with granite and limestone, & the scattered groves of box alder on the *Leve Grave* give to the scenery a handsome effect—saw a gang of about 200 *she elks*, but they were too much alarmed, at our appearance, to suffer us to approach nearer than 400 yards to them—at this season of the year the males & females run separately, & the former shew, by far, much more curiosity, for they frequently come within 150 yards, to discover what we are; saw some wolves & sand cranes, and crossed two or three of the Sioux trails, none, however, lately traveled; reached a fine sulphur spring, strongly impregnated, & halted for our dinner— The morning very warm & sultry; but a little rain about 11 A. M. cleared the atmosphere when it was cool and pleasant.

At 4 P.M. when about to proceed the wind hauled round from the *S-East* to the *N-West* & it commenced raining, when

we determined to pitch our camp & remain here for the night, having made today 15 miles & in consequence of the Guide's wish not to cross the river, & it holding here nearly a *S.East* course, we were compelled to steer accordingly, about sun down it cleared away, when the most perfect and beautiful rainbow, that I had ever beheld, presented itself to our view.

July 11th.

During last night, we experienced a very hard rain, which subsided at day break, & at 8 A.M. we left our encampment, our course *N.East*, & we passed over some level Prairies of considerable extent on the high lands, saw small scattering stones of Limestone, granite & Quartz—discovered a large drove of Buffaloe to our left, probably 5 thousand, but not being in want of provisions; They being 3 or 4 miles out of our course, and the clouds having indicated a storm, we pursued our course, but soon fell upon a drove of about 100, to which several of us gave chase, & out of which a *yearling* was obtained, after a half mile chase;—after being butchered, he was mounted on one of our horses, and with our prize we proceeded and overtook the main party, at *Elk Lake*, where we encamped, for the night, having made 17 miles.—

The guide today gave me what he called *Pome De Prairie* (Prairie apple) which he found & which he says the Indians are very fond of—I ate of it; its taste resembling that of a *Buckeye nut*; its shape a Pear, & the color being whitish.

Elk Lake, nearly circular, & the circumference being about 4 miles, is of handsome clear water, & derives its name from the circumstances of a Party of Indians having driven a large gang of Elk, in the winter season, on the ice, when their weight broke it, & they thus fell a sacrifice to their crafty pursuers; its banks are gently sloping and covered with sand & pebbles; & a thin growth of timber, with the reflection of the Sun on the water, & the knowledge of our being so far separated from our friends, & civilized society, irresistibly enforce upon us an impression of gloomy beauty—From this Lake is an outlet which leads to the Leve Grave.

Some of our party killed, on the banks of the river, a Fisher, who, however, did not give up his life without a struggle, nor without shewing much fierceness of disposition.

Saw in the Prairie a Missouri Fox, a beautiful animal, & whose fur is much celebrated for its softness, &c.

By Lieut. Talcot's observation, our camp on Elk Lake is in Lat. $43^{\circ} 11' 3''$

July 12th.

Left camp at 6 A.M., & after holding a *N.East* course for about 10 miles, over Prairies occasionally level, & then rolling, reached the river Des Moines²⁷ (having headed the Racoon branch of it) over which without much difficulty we found a fording place, & crossed—The river is handsomely covered with timber, & its waters clean & bottom sandy. About ten leagues to the *N.West* of our crossing place is Spirit Lake, at the Head of Sioux river, respecting which the Indians have a curious tradition; viz that the Great Spirit resides in this Lake, & that nothing ever leaves it which once enters it; our Indian Guide informs me that he does not give credit to this story tho' he believes that a monster with horns lives here & the circumstances of a whirlpool being in the center, afford the foundation for his nation's story.

After leaving the Des Moines & traveling 3 miles, reached a Lake, a mile in circumference, where we halted for our dinner; & after obtaining which proceeded & traveled over a Prairie, for about 10 miles, a great part of which is low, wet, & marshy, & having made today 23 miles halted on the *Little Blue Earth River*, for the night.

The wind today has been blowing from the *N.West* & cool, raw & blustering.

July 13th.

At 7 A.M., crossed the river (water a foot deep) & which our Guide now calls *Point Coupee*, & adds that it empties into the Blue Earth River—ascended high Prairies—Passed

²⁷ Probably the west fork of the Des Moines.

by many large granite & other stones, halted for our dinner, in an open Prairie near a marsh, from which we obtained some water—When about to proceed, saw a drove of 100 Buffaloe passing from N. to South a half mile in our rear. In the afternoon crossed many of their trails, & continuing our course nearly East, reached at Sun down an old bed of a river, with high banks, about a Quarter or half a mile wide, which with a little difficulty we crossed; the water & mire being occasionally *belly deep*, to our horses and mules; saw another drove of Buffaloe, which some of the party fired at, but without success. Reached at dark a small stream, which the Guide says is the same we slept on last night, when we encamped, having traveled today 22 miles, without seeing the least indication of timber, without finding water, excepting in the marshes, & it being over the high dividing ridge, which separate the Head waters of the streams that flow into the Missouri from those that empty into the Mississippi.

For an hour or two, after our reaching the camp, we found the mosquitoes so troublesome as almost to prevent our doing anything; & But few persons, who have not felt the inconvenience attending a visit from them would willingly assent to a relation of them.

The day was cool & pleasant, wind from the North, & the night quite cold—

July 14th.

Started, at 7 A.M. traveled 18 miles over a level & low prairie, saw a prairie wolf, which I believe, from his appearance, to be a very near relation to the animal that was pointed out to me, on the 11th Inst., as a Missouri Fox—Two of the party shot a Buck Elk (4 years old) of about 300 w't. Encamped at a small point of wood near a little pond, with good & cool water. Our course today has been *S. of East*—the Lat of our camp agreeably to observation, is $43^{\circ} 7' n$.

July 15th.

The air, last night, quite cool, & the dew fell very heavy,

& to these causes are we indebted for sweet & refreshing slumbers; inasmuch as the mosquitoes disappear, when the others commence.

Left camp at 7 A.M., steered our course *N. East*, over handsome Prairies tho' of but indifferent soil, our route laying between two extensive groves of timber, which we observed yesterday morning, on our right & left, & as far off as the eye could reach; they have been gradually approximating & we are in hopes at that point of ascertaining where we are, at present being in much doubt, inasmuch as we have trusted entirely to our Guide & his knowledge being rather imperfect—halted on a ravine for dinner. From this point observed at a short distance a Buffaloe cow, with her calf, which two of the party with their rifles went in pursuit of & Col. Morgan, Lieut. Talcot & myself followed in the rear, to give chase in case of the failure of the former. They fired when the *cow* & *calf* started off, & we riders in pursuit. The chase lasted for about a mile, when having fired two or three pistol balls into the Cow & she having received more from the others, we found ourselves in possession of her, & weighing 400 w't. In the afternoon reached the point of junction of the two groves of timber, & passing thro' it reached a small creek at Sundown when we encamped with an extensive Prairie in our front, & Timber stretching from the West to East at a great distance from us.

Made today 18 miles & at the point of encampment found an excellent spring of pure & cold water.

About 100 w't of our jerked Beef being spoiled, we were obliged to leave it for the wolves, but its place was well supplied by the Fresh Buffaloe we obtained immediately afterwards—

We saw & heard many rattlesnakes but they are not an object of much terror to our Indian Guide, in as much as the Prairie contains a plenty of the *Bois Blanc De Prairie* (white wood of the Prairie) & *La Painet*²⁸ the decoction of whose

²⁸ Probably meant for *Paigné*, which is given in Baillou's *Dictionnaire* as an American name for *Chimaphila Umbellata*, also known as 'Prince's Pine' and 'Pipsissewa.'

roots are considered a speedy & infallible cure for the severest sting from them.

July 16th. Sunday.

With a fine clear Sunshiny morning left camp, at 7 A. M. crossed the creek, called *Bois Frent* (hard wood) with a Rocky bottom. Took a *North* course; crossed a fresh trail over which we presume a party of Dozen Indians must have passed yesterday—continued our course over gently rolling Prairies, for the distance of 14 miles when we reached the woods, consisting of oak—

a mile from this point reached a marsh running across our route, which detained us an hour & a half in crossing over our baggage &c.

In the afternoon, pursued our course *N. East* thro' the woods, with thick underbrush, for the distance of 5 miles, & after crossing and recrossing a stream, about 10 yards wide, with gravelly bottom, encamped on a point of woods, with an extensive Prairie to the *East*.—

For a few days past we have been gradually losing all confidence in our Guide as regards his knowledge of this part of the country; he is himself considerably chagrined & mortified at his own ignorance, & his squaw this evening was seen weeping, most piteously, & no doubt thro' fear least, as her *Lord & Master* has failed in his pledge of conducting us in a direct route to our point of destination, we should *play Indian* with him, viz. sacrifice him on the altar of his ignorance; A Tin of soup from our mess to the squaw quieted her apprehension & some kind words satisfied the Indians & they once more retired to their rest, apparently in good humor & spirits.

Made today 19 miles & our camp, by observation, is in Lat. $43^{\circ} 29' N.$

July 17th.

Started about 7 A.M., passed over a Prairie of much low & marshy ground, for the distance of 8 miles, when we reached another grove of timber, with scattering oak & no underbrush, which we passed thro', for 5 miles, & halted for dinner, after

which, parting with our Guide, he to endeavor to ascertain our situation, we proceeded & passed over a Prairie of 5 miles, & crossing a ravine, halted on its banks & pitched our camp. at this time it commenced raining very hard, & continued for two hours when the Indian rejoined us, but still appearing ignorant of the surrounding country.

Made today 18 miles, our course *N.East*.

July 18th.

Morning cloudy, & drizzling—started about 7 A.M.; course East; one mile brought us to a river, 20 yards wide, knee deep, with stony bottom, and running from N to *South* with a current of a mile & a half an hour, & the handsomest stream of water we have seen, since we left the Bowyer; we do not know what to call it; our Guide thinks it the St. Peters.²⁹

Continued our course over some handsome Prairies, well surrounded with timber, & which would admit of very beautiful farms—crossed a ravine & halted at noon, when Lieut. Col. Morgan, Lieut. Talcot & myself, with the Guide, rode about six miles, to the South, to ascertain if the river we crossed this morning bended to the Easterly, that we might satisfy ourselves, whether or no, it is the St. Peters. Returned to the party of a contrary opinion, when we again proceeded, & holding a *N.East* course, thro' handsome groves of timber, reached another ravine having made 14 miles & encamped for the night.

Four of the party went out in pursuit of game, but returned unsuccessful.

July 19th.

Our provisions being nearly exhausted, & the uncertainty of the relative situation between ourselves & the St. Peters, leaving it doubtful when we shall reach the Post, at its mouth, we rose early & at 5 A.M. took up our line of march.

The cause of our uncertainty, existing among us, arises from the differences of the *Lat.* of the mouth of St. Peters, as laid

²⁹ Probably it was the Red Cedar River. They could not have been within 75 miles of the St. Peter's at this time.

down on the maps, & as made by Maj. Long, Topo. Engineer, we giving credit, to the latter, but our Indian insisting, that we have crossed the St. Peters & the maps, seem, to strengthen, his opinion.³⁰

The morning quite cool & cloudy, & being determined to pursue a *N.E.* course 'til we strike the St. Peters, or Mississippi from either of which we shall be able to ascertain our situation, we steered accordingly—crossed the ravine & passed over a gently rolling Prairie for the distance of 10 miles, which brought us to a point of timber on another ravine, & which here turns at right angles & runs to the East; continued our course, which brought us to a small drain of water, on the steep banks of which we found regular strata of sand stone, & extending for some distance—crossed over more prairies, & thro' woodland & halted after dark without wood, or water, & tho' supperless, & shelterless, we were all soon lost in quiet repose: we made today about 31 miles.

July 20th.

During last night we had a little rain, started at 4 A.M., crossed over some very high hills, well covered with wood, & much underbrush, making the traveling exceedingly difficult, & after 2 miles halted on the banks of a handsome stream,

³⁰ They were of course mistaken in their conjecture that they had crossed the St. Peter's. As a matter of fact they never saw that river until they reached their destination at its junction with the Mississippi. In the London edition (1823) of James's *Long's Expedition*, there is a map, which is reproduced by Thwaites in his *Early Western Travels*, xiv, p. 30, that shows an overland route from Council Bluff to the St. Peter's, designated as "Lt. Talcott's route in 1820." If this purported to be the route taken by our party, as seems likely from the date and the fact that Talcott was the engineer officer with it, the map is in that respect inaccurate, for it indicates that the party reached the St. Peter's, at its southernmost bend, and followed down to its mouth. As will be seen from further reading of the journal the party first reached the Mississippi at Lake Pepin, and thence ascended that river to the mouth of the St. Peter's. There is a possibility that the route shown may have been a later one taken by Talcott, for in 1820 Lewis Cass wrote Calhoun recommending Talcott as a suitable person to conduct an expedition *up the St. Peter's*, a recommendation naturally following upon, though not necessarily implying an acquaintance with, the region resulting from an earlier expedition, that is to say, this one.—ED.

(which we had crossed,) 12 yards wide, sandy bottom, & 2 or 3 feet deep, for the purpose of cooking & eating. we here took a farewell meal on the last of our pork & bread; a little parched corn is still reserved; proceeded, at 8 A.M., ascended a high hill & struck on a very broken country— Two miles to the right of our course, discerned a high promontory, & accompanied by Lieut. T. we rode to it; on ascending which, we found ourselves about 70 feet higher than the surrounding country & with the assistance of our spyglass, were enabled to see a very great distance in every direction; & tho' beautiful & interesting objects were presented to us, we were not able to gain any satisfactory information relative to our situation; rejoined the party & continuing our course, descended a very steep declivity, & following a ravine for a short distance reached a river³¹ 30 yards wide 5 feet deep, with a stony bottom & which many of the party believe to be the St. Peters; halted on its banks & remained 'til sundown, when we crossed over to the N. side, & encamped for the night, having made 11 miles. The river is well bordered by oak, pine, white ash, & slippery elm, & in its vicinity we discovered sand & limestone. During the afternoon some of the men were employed in fishing, but without success. The Indian shot 3 geese, which were distributed to the party— Lieut. T. here lost an eye glass belonging to his Telescope, whose place was supplied with a microscope, & at night, taking an observation, found our camp to be 44° 18' N. Lat.

July 21st.

In consequence of a little fog on the water, or some other cause equally as unimportant, we remained 'til 8 A.M., during which time we took our breakfast on our portion of the geese, & leaving the river, ascended a high & broken hill & then passing thro' a thick cluster of timber, with much underbrush, for a mile, descended another hill & found ourselves in a beautiful valley 250 yards wide, & bordered by high & broken ridges, following which, about two miles, ascended the

³¹ Probably the Zumbro River.

left ridge, & having with much difficulty & exertion passed over many high, broken & precipitous hills, halted, at noon, to rest, tho' without water; proceeded at 2 P.M. & reached a small drain of water, & having lately suffered much inconvenience from the want of it, we here filled our canteens & kegs—saw two deer, neither of which were we able to shoot. this is the only game we have seen for several days, except the geese which were shot & many Prairie hens, but being armed only with rifles, & these hens not to be discovered in the grass, & only seen when flying, we are not able to shoot them—about 4 P.M. when every one of the party was much fatigued with traveling, & almost exhausted by a scorching sun & empty stomachs, with much anxiety of mind respecting our situation, we discovered from a high ridge the Mississippi river, & freshening up, we with light hearts & quick steps soon reached its water, at which point we observed a boat on the opposite shore & after hailing, for a considerable time, a canoe, with 3 Sioux Indians, with much precaution approached us. From these we learn the river we left this morning to be the Pine,³² that we are now at Lake Pepin, & that the Boat opposite has plenty of provisions; some of the party took the Indians' canoe, & paddled to them obtained pork, bread, & whiskey.

This supply, so perfectly unexpected, saved us the trouble of butchering one of our mules, which we had determined on & which we should have done this evening, a selection having been made, & our appetites perfectly prepared. Made to-day 14 miles. About 10 P.M., twelve Indians, the remainder of the party to which the others belong, came over, & after presenting each with some tobacco, they lay down and slept in our camp.

July 22d.

At day break all the Indians, excepting one whom we retained as guide, left us for their village; we followed at 7 A.M., crossed a small stream at its mouth, being about 5 feet deep

³² Now known as the Zumbro.

& 12 yards wide; followed up, on the margin of the river, seeing many Pheasants, the first I have seen since crossing the Alleghany Mountains, & great number of Pigeons, several of which we shot—crossed a high hill, & leaving sight of the river, struck into some beautiful little vallies, thro' which we held our course, (new objects & interesting ones continually presenting themselves) till we, at sundown, reached an Indian village on the Mississippi, having made 15 miles—during a very hot day.

For the first time since our leaving C. Bluff, our Indian & his squaw this day quarreled—she has hitherto been very politely treated by him & as much so as the Ladies in our most polished societies receive from their husbands. This day our party being increased by our new Indian Guide, the other is ashamed to continue his kindness, in as much as the Indians consider nothing more disgraceful than to wait upon their squaws, but on the contrary make the latter their servants & perform all the most menial duties.

The village we reached this evening has been established about 10 years since by *Tauton Gomony* (Red Wing)³³ a chief

³³ RED WING, a distinguished Sioux chieftain, was born about the middle of the eighteenth century and lived till about 1825 or '30. His name has been commemorated by the present town of Redwing, Minn., the site of his old village. He was an early example of the self-made American. Not born in a chief's family, he rose from the warrior ranks by sheer force of character to be second in importance only to Wabasha, the most influential chief of the Sioux Nation. "Tauton Gominy," the Indian name given him by Kearny, we can not be sure about, either in its rendering or application. Pike gave it both as "Talangamane" and "Tantangamini," with the French and English equivalents, "L'Aile Rouge" and "Red Wing." (Coues' Pike, i. pp. 342 and 347.) Dr. Foster called him "Tah-tawkahmahnee," but translated it as "Le boeuf que [qui] marche" or "The Walking Buffalo." He said he was *also known* as "The Red Wing." (*ibid.*, p. 88.) Beltrami gave the name "Tantangamini," most nearly like Kearny, but seems to have assumed it meant Red Wing. (Beltrami's *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America* (1823), ii, p. 188.) Schoolcraft (1820) speaks of him as "Tarangamani," or Red Wing. (Phila. ed. 1855, p. 163.) Keating, the chronicler of Long's Expedition, makes the name "Tatunkamane" (meaning, he says, "The Walking Buffalo"), but states that it belonged not to the chief but to the chief's son. The chief's own Indian name, he says was "Shakea" ("the man that paints himself red")

& of the *Gens De Lac*, a Tribe of the Sioux; he is about 70 years old & has been much distinguished for his military talents & prowess, as well as his friendship & attachment to the Americans; on our arriving near his village, we were on the point of encamping about 200 yards from it; he invited

and his village bore the name Red Wing, "by which the chief was formerly known." (Keating's *Long's Expedition*, i, p. 260.) Catlin the Indian painter, who came along ten years later, after the death of the old chief, met his son whom he calls "Tah-tón-ga-mó-nee, Red Wing's son. (*The George Catlin Indian Gallery*: Donaldson, p. 58.) Whatever may have been the proper Indian name of the chief, he will always be known in history as "Red Wing." He had an active fighting career as the head of an important tribe of the Sioux, called the "Menowa Kantong," translated by Pike as "Gens du Lac," or "the people of the lake." Like his confrere Red Hawk, of the Sisseton tribe, he assisted the British in the War of 1812. These two chiefs and another one known as "The Sixth," with a large party of Sioux, all under the war chief Wabasha, were in the attack on Ft. Sandusky in 1813 (see *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, iii, p. 19, n. 25.) Red Wing presumably was also present at the battle on Mackinac Island, in which the American commander, Major Holmes, was killed, for following that affair he came down with a party of 200 Sioux and the Mackinac militia (British) to help in the assault of the post at Prairie du Chien. ("Grignon's Recollections," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 271.) Captain Anderson, a trader who commanded one of Mackinac militia companies, said Red Wing was "famed for telling events." Judged by his subsequent course, this talent seems to have been ordinary foresight coupled with discretion. After the last-named fight he decided to quit and retire to private life, because it would seem, of a vision he had that the British would soon be driven away, leaving the Indians to fight it out alone or make peace with the Americans. He gave back the Royal George medal, presented to him by the British, explaining, when pressed, "You tell me the lion on this medal is the most powerful of all animals. I have never seen one, but I believe what you say. This lion * * * sleeps all day, but the eagle, who is the most powerful of birds, sleeps only at night. In the day time he flies about everywhere and sees all on the ground. He will light on a tree over the lion, and they will scold each other for a while, but they will finally make up and be friends, and smoke the pipe of peace. The lion will then go home and leave us Indians to our foes. This is the reason for not taking up my war club. Your enemies will believe me when I speak good words to them." ("Personal Narrative of Thomas A. Anderson," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, p. 197.) He had already shared in more actions than almost any other Indian, and yet had the reputation of never having been defeated. (Keating's *Long*, *supra*.) Doty, who visited him in 1820, found him possessed of a marked sense of justice, and gives an instance of his great moderation. ("Papers of James Duane Doty," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 218.) In 1823 Keating found him

us nearer when some excuse was offered for our declining, on which occasion he was much chagrined & mortified, & expressing it to us & adding that no American had ever before shunned him, we accepted his invitation, & encamped near his *Wig Wams*; after which the officers were invited by him to a Feast & seating ourselves alongside of him, his squaw handed each of us a bason of venison, boiled up with parched corn which we found exceedingly palatable. Whilst eating, the chief, by means of our old Guide, (who speaks French as well as the Sioux language) he told us that what was placed before us was ours, & that he did not wish any returned to him; our share having been much more than we could possibly digest, we sent our leavings to the soldiers; we then returned to our camp, & were followed shortly after by him, accompanied by his squaw, bringing Fish & a deer head. We gave him whiskey & tea & making him a present of some tobacco, he retired, & we went to rest.

July 23rd, Sunday.

During last night we experienced a very severe storm of rain, Thunder & Lightning, accompanied by a heavy gale of wind, & the weather, during the morning, continuing unfavorable, we remained til 2 P.M., previous to which we took our dinner & had as a guest the Indian chief, whom we treated with pork & biscuit; a Boat with some Frenchmen from Lord Selkirk's establishment,³⁴ on the Red River, like-

much superannuated but still highly respected on account of his former distinguished achievements. He was then about 70 years old, "of hideous aspect, bent under the weight of years and atrocities," says Beltrami, in the same year, "but still, the scars with which his naked body was covered, the dignity with which he wore his buffalo skin, hung on his shoulders like the *glamis* of the Romans," his war club in hand and quiver on his back, gave him "more *éclat* and majesty than a king." He was so much feared by his people that even in old age he was treated with extraordinary deference. (Beltrami, ii, p. 188.) His granddaughter married Colonel Crawford, a man of commercial activity about Prairie du Chien and Michilimackinac during the War of 1812, who has left descendants in the lake country. (Schoolcraft, *supra*.)

³⁴ LORD SELKIRK'S ESTABLISHMENT. The Earl of Selkirk, a wealthy,

wise arrived at this time. Leaving the Mississippi, to avoid its banks, we proceeded to Cannon River, about 30 yds wide, 3 feet deep, & crossing which, encamped on its banks, having made 6 miles. During our march this afternoon it rained harder than I had ever before known & we had much Thunder & Lightning the latter, at one time, we discerned for a few seconds very near & setting a cluster of Trees, as it were, on fire.

At sundown our new Indian was sent back to his village, with some Tobacco, to trade for provisions (our men having eaten so voraciously as to exhaust our late supplies) he returned at 10 P. M., bringing a Fish, & a few quarts of dried wild Potatoes.

July 24th.

During last night we were very much annoyed by the buz-

kind-hearted but visionary Scotchman, had obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1811 a grant of land in the Red River Valley, between Lake Winnipeg and the United States boundary, and wrote some tracts urging the importance of colonizing British emigrants in this distant region and thus checking the disposition to settle in the United States. The first lot of the colonists, about fifty Scotchmen, arrived in the following year. All might have gone well enough with them but for the fact that the agents of the North West Company looked upon the move as a scheme of encroachment on the part of their rival, the Hudson's Bay Company. In the disgraceful strife waged between the two powerful companies the Selkirk colonists became the chief sufferers. Persecuted to distraction by the North West people, their lot became a hard one. The story of their sufferings is one of the most heartrending in the history of this Northern region. In 1819 their crops having been destroyed by grasshoppers, they sent to Prairie du Chien in the following spring for seed. Three Mackinac boats laden with wheat, oats and peas went to their relief, pursuant to a business agreement entered into with contractors at that trading post. This was the first consignment of freight from Prairie du Chien to the Red River Settlement, a noteworthy fact. The boatmen returned across the plains on foot and from Big Stone Lake by canoe. It was some of these men, probably, that Kearny saw, as they would have been just about returning at this time. For further facts about Lord Selkirk's colony, see Chittenden's *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, i, p. 91; Neill's *History of Minnesota*, pp. 301-20, and "Reminiscences: Historical and Personal," by H. H. Sibley, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 470.



C. Havenworth

zing & stinging of the mosquitoes, so much so as to prevent several of us from sleeping—proceeded at 5 A.M., crossed over some handsome Prairies, & thro' beautiful vallies. Forded a stream of clear water, 10 yards wide, 2 feet deep & filling our kegs proceeded 20 miles to breakfast; obtaining which & our provisions being again out, we started & passing over gentle hills & handsome small Prairies we reached a Lake & afte taking a drink, proceeded to a second, covering about an acre of ground, & having made 30 miles, halted for the night.

July 25th.

Started at 6 A. M. passing over a few gentle hills & some Prairie, reached the Fort, at the mouth of St. Peters on the Mississippi, not having seen the latter river since our leaving the Indian village, our course having been about *N.W.* At this place we obtained a very comfortable breakfast, & after which meeting with Col. Leavenworth,³⁵ we dispatched our soldiers

³⁵ HENRY LEAVENWORTH was born 10 Dec., 1783, at New Haven, Conn. In early childhood he removed to Danville, Vt. He studied law at Delhi, N. Y., under Gen. Erastus Root and practiced with him 1804-12. At the outbreak of the war with England he raised a company in Delaware County, which was taken into the 25th U. S. Infantry Regiment, with himself as captain, 25 April, 1812. He was promoted to major in the 9th Infantry, 15 Aug., 1813; brevetted lieutenant-colonel, 5 July, 1814, for distinguished service at the battle of Chippewa, Upper Canada, and brevetted colonel twenty days later for valiant conduct at Niagara Falls, where he was wounded. He was transferred to the 2d Infantry, 17 May, 1815. After the war he obtained a leave of absence, and in the following year became a member of the Legislature in the State of New York. In 1817 he was made Indian Agent for the Northwest Territory, with headquarters at Prairie du Chien. His wife and daughter are said to have been the first white women to travel through the wilderness to this remote station. He was promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the 5th Infantry, 10 Feb., 1818. In the following summer he set out from Prairie du Chien with the advance guard of the Mississippi River expedition to establish a military post near the head of navigation. The outfit consisted of 98 soldiers, 20 boatmen, with the requisite supplies, in 17 batteaux and other craft. They arrived 14 Aug., 1819, at the mouth of the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River, and forthwith threw up the cantonment which later became Fort Snelling (*see note 6*). Before the permanent buildings were completed Leaven-

with the horses and mules by land (having previously swam the latter over the St. Peters,) & accompanied him in his boat to his new cantonment, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the old one, having made today 5 miles. We were here most kindly & hospitably received & entertained by Col. L. & his Lady, &

worth was transferred (1 Oct., 1821) to the 6th Infantry, and put in command of the troops at Fort Atkinson (Council Bluff). In 1823 he commanded a successful expedition against the Arikaree Indians 700 miles above Council Bluff on the Missouri River. For this service he was specially mentioned by the department commander and commended both by Secretary of War Calhoun and by President Monroe in his annual message. On 25 July, 1824, he completed ten years continuous service in the grade of brevet colonel, for which he received the brevet of brigadier general, as of said date, although actually the promotion was not given him until 1830, owing to a long pending uncertainty in the War Department as to the proper interpretation of the law in its application to brevet grades. He became colonel of the 3d Infantry, 16 Dec., 1825, with station at Green Bay. Late in the summer of 1826 he brought his regiment down the Mississippi to St. Louis and went into camp (19 Sept., 1826) ten miles below the city on the site selected for a new military post. Maj. Stephen W. Kearny, with a battalion of the 1st Infantry, had arrived there two months before, on the abandonment of old Cantonment Bellefontaine, 10 July, 1826. The troops built temporary log cabins for the winter, and the post was given the name "Jefferson Barracks," 23 Oct., 1826, in memory of Jefferson who had died July 4. (See editorial note "The Beginning of Jefferson Barracks." *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, iii, No. 2.) In the spring of 1827 permanent stone buildings were begun, under the supervision of Gen. Atkinson, but the 3d Infantry, under Col. Leavenworth, was diverted from the work to undertake a new mission. As soon as navigation opened, four companies of the regiment embarked in keel boats (17 April, 1827) and went up the Missouri for the purpose of establishing, near the mouth of the Little Platte, still another post. On May 8, Col. Leavenworth wrote that he had chosen a site for it on the right bank of the Missouri, and had begun the erection of the new cantonment. He did not know it was to be named for him and was to become the largest and most important of all our army posts. The city of Leavenworth, Kansas, grew up near the post and further commemorates his name. The honor of having so large a part in the establishment of three prominent military posts probably fell to no other officer before or since. In 1829 Leavenworth and his troops returned to Cantonment Jefferson, near St. Louis, where he became post commander. The command of the whole southwestern frontier was given to him in 1834, in which year he took charge of an expedition against hostile Pawnee and Comanche Indians. Out of this enterprise was secured, without a single collision, a permanent treaty of peace. While engaged on this duty he contracted a fever from which

being in the enjoyment of their society, & the hearty welcome & good comforts of their table, imagined ourselves repaid for the hardships we had endured, the difficulties we had met with, & the obstacles we had overcome during our journey from the C. Bluffs—we were likewise cordially received by all the officers at the Post, who were a little astonished at the sight of us, we having been the First Whites that ever crossed at such a distance from the Missouri to the Mississippi river.

The object of the exploring party which I have accompanied from the *C. B.*³⁶ being to discover a practicable route for traveling between that Post & this (on the St. Peters), the one we have come is not, in the least, adapted for that purpose.

Our circuitous & wavering route (which is to be attributed to the Guide's advice, being in direct contradiction to our opinion, & we being occasionally guided by the one, & then by the other); the immense Prairies we have crossed; the want of timber, which we for several days at a time experienced; the little water that in some parts were to be found; the high & precipitous Mountains & hills that we climbed over, render that road impracticable & almost impassable, for more than very small bodies. A very great portion of the country in the neighborhood of our route could be of no other object (at any time) to our gov't in the acquisition

he died, 21 July, 1834, at a place called Cross Timbers, Indian Territory. Four days after his death, but before the news of it reached the East, his promotion to the full grade of brigadier general was announced at Washington, the ten years since the date of his brevet rank in that grade having been completed. His death caused profound sorrow, not only in his regiment but throughout the army. A monument to his memory was erected by his regiment, the 3d Infantry. His remains were taken East, but many years later (1902) were brought to Fort Leavenworth and there interred with befitting ceremony. In the truest sense Gen. Leavenworth was a pioneer of the West. The better part of his life was spent on the frontier in the arduous service of helping to prepare a vast domain for settlement and civilization. (Heitman's *Hist. Reg. and Dict. of the U. S. Army*, i, p. 622; Lamb's *Biog. Dict. of the U. S.*, v, p. 3; Forsyth's *Journal, Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 205; *Kan. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 577, and sketch by Maj. G. B. Davis, in the *Journal of the U. S. Cavalry. Ass'n*, viii, p. 261.)

³⁶ Council Bluffs.

of it, than the expulsion of the savages from it, & the driving them nearer to the *N. West*, & the Pacific for the disadvantages (as above) will forever prevent its supporting more than a thinly scattered population. The soil generally we found good, but bears no comparison to that I saw between *Chariton & C.B.*

July 26th.

Crossed over to the opposite shore of the Miss. into the *North West Territory*, where I found the bank about 60 feet high; Two thirds of which is (if it may be so denominated) a regular strata of sand, having two or three inches of the exterior hard like stone, but breaking which came to a beautiful white & fine sand; the other third is Limestone, with a considerable mixture of the above sand.

Col. Leavenworth, being a magistrate and authorized to exercise the functions appertaining thereto in the *N.W. Ter'y*,³⁷ he accompanied a Lieut Green & a Miss Gooding across the river, & there married them, after which they returned, & I paid my respects to the Bride & Groom.³⁸

³⁷ The "Northwest Territory," it will be remembered, embraced the region *east* of the Mississippi. Col. Leavenworth's authority as magistrate was probably derived from his office of Indian Agent of the Territory (*see note 35.*)

³⁸ Probably the first marriage of white persons living in Minnesota. The bridegroom, Platt R. Green, was the regimental adjutant. He was born in New York State; entered the army 31 May, 1814, as ensign in the 21st Infantry; promoted to 2d lieutenant, 1 Oct., 1814; transferred to 5th Infantry, 17 May, 1815; regimental adjutant from 4 June, 1819, to 1 Sept., 1821; promoted to 1st lieutenant, 27 May, 1820; died 30 June, 1828. (Heitman.) The bride was the daughter of Capt. and Mrs. George Gooding, of the 5th Infantry, who were stationed at the post and were among the first arrivals there. Mrs. Gooding is said to have been the first lady to visit the Falls of St. Anthony. (Forsyth's Journal, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii-iii, p. 155.) Capt. Gooding left the army in 1821 and became sutler at Prairie du Chien, continuing as such till 1827. After his death his widow married John W. Johnson (*see note 56*), of Prairie du Chien, and later lived in St. Louis. (*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 442.) Lieutenant Green and his wife remained at the post several years. Their little son died and was buried there. ("Reminiscences of Mrs. Ann Adams," *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, vi, part 2, p. 95.)

July 27th.

After breakfast, in company with Col. Morgan & Leavenworth, Lieut. Pentland & Talcot, I left camp, to visit the surrounding country; passed up in a *N. W.* direction over rich Prairies, & soon reached the "Falls of St. Anthony."

In viewing these Falls, I must confess they did not strike me with that majestic & grand appearance I had been induced to expect from their description by former travellers—They are, however, very beautiful & probably on account of having frequently seen the immense Falls of Niagara & the high pitch I had wrought myself up to, of witnessing in the savage country a body of water (at a particular point) held in veneration by the neighboring Tribes of Indians, & to which many of them at this day offer their tribute, may account for my disappointment.

The view, as presented to me from the *W.* shore, & a short distance below the Fall, was nearly thus:

About 30 yards from the *E.* shore, & as many below the falls, commences an Island, which runs up a quarter of a mile, probably 20 yards wide, covered with timber which prevented a view of the Falls beyond—Between that island & the *W.* shore the water appears to flow over the Falls in 28 separate or detached bodies; the edge or extremity circuitous, & having many angles, tho' quite regular. The pitch or Fall of water is 16 feet, tho' immediately & for some hundred yards below, the water dashes, with the rapidity of Lightning, over large Limestone Rocks, which have been worn away from the main body at the Fall—above & below these Falls are many rapids, which assist to diversify the scene & render it more terrific. a small Island near the *W.* shore, a few yards below the Fall, separates the body of water & helps to increase its rapidity, by giving to it a smaller channel. The width of the river above the Falls may be about 600 & the banks from that point, approaching each other, leave it not more below than 200 yards.

The roaring of the water may be heard for a considerable

distance, say 10 or 12 miles, tho' the spray did not extend as far as one might have reason to expect it would—

One of the above bodies, being the most prominent, not only as to situation but to attract attention, is about 30 feet long & has very much the appearance of a large wheel turning round with great rapidity

The Falls are 9 by water & 7 miles by Land above the mouth of the St. Peters river.

The Indians consider these Falls as a Great Spirit, & when passing make presents & pay their adoration to them— Some give tobacco; some, whiskey, & all, what they themselves are most fond of—a Drum and sticks were once thrown in & the present accompanied by the remark that as the Great Spirit appeared to be fond of noise, the Drum was offered that he might beat upon it & make as much as he thought proper.

The distance of the Falls of St. Anthony from the mouth of St. Peters river is the same as those of Niagara from the Town of Queenston, & 'tis generally supposed the latter Falls once were at the latter place; The Banks, rocks, &c., &c., at the St. Peters, have as much appearance of a large Fall having been at that place, as those of Queenston have; and why is it not as probable?

I have mentioned the above as a curiosity, leaving it for others to investigate the history of the Falls, I merely vouching for the correctness of the appearance of them.

From the Falls, our party proceeded to a beautiful Lake & after firing at some geese left it, & passing by a handsome grove of Tamaracks, (a tall & very straight tree) reached another, where we passed 3 or 4 hours in fishing, & with great success. Returned to camp at sun down.

Lieut. T. took an observation, & found our camp (a mile from the St. Peters) in Lat. $44^{\circ} 54' N$.

July 28th.

Day clear & pleasant, visited a point of Land at the mouth of the St. Peters river,—where 'tis contemplated building permanent barracks & a fortification—The point is com-

manded by several high hills in its neighborhood, and all of which it would be impossible to fortify.

July 29th.

Started at 9 A.M. to descend the Mississippi—at the confluence of the Miss. & St. Peters rivers is an Island, of about 100 acres, & the waters of both rivers flow on either side, as the tide or water of either may be the highest—The former is at that point 130 yards & the latter 80, wide—Descended the river 4 miles, when we put to at a ravine & walking up which for 200 yards, reached a Cave,³⁹ being at the mouth 20 feet wide & 10 high; handsomely arched & the roof & floor, being of a beautiful white sand, resembling the finest muscovado⁴⁰ sugar—Taking a candle, I commenced entering it, in company with 3 or 4 of our boat's party—we penetrated about 400 yards, frequently obliged to crawl on our hands and feet, it being so low & then on account of its narrow passage, sidling along & supporting ourselves (having no foot hold) with our backs & hands—at 100 yards from the entrance we passed thro' a room, of about 15 feet square As far as we penetrated we found a rapid stream of water (cold as ice & in which we could not remain for any length of time) occasionally two yards wide, & then narrowing to a foot; In some places it was so deep that we could not touch bottom,

³⁹ This cave is evidently the same one visited by Capt. Carver in 1767. He wrote: "About thirty miles below the Falls of St. Anthony * * * is a remarkable cave of an amazing depth. The Indians term it Wakonteebe, that is, the Dwelling of the Great Spirit. The entrance to it is about ten feet wide, the height of it five feet. The arch within is near fifteen feet high, and about thirty-five broad. *The bottom of it consists of fine clear sand.* About twenty-five feet from the entrance begins a lake, the water of which is transparent and extends to an unsearchable distance. * * * I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphics, which appeared very ancient. * * * The cave is only accessible by ascending a narrow, steep passage that lies near the brim of the river. At a little distance from this drary (*sic*) cavern is a burying place of several bands of the Naudowessie Indians." (Carver's *Travels*, Boston ed. [1797], p. 39. The cave was also visited by Pike, in 1807. See Coues' *Pike's Expedition*, p. 198 *et seq.*) Naudowessie was the ancient term applied to the Sioux Indians.

⁴⁰ *Muscavado*—unrefined sugar.

tho' generally it was not more than 2 foot—The stones we found at the bottom had a mixture of iron in them. The air was quite cold, & the farther we advanced, the more plainly could we hear the roaring of the waters from within, like distant Thunder.

The passengers in the boat, being desirous to proceed with as little delay as possible, we returned to it, not however with our curiosity gratified, as we had wished to penetrate 'till stopped by difficulties we could not overcome.

Four miles below, reached *Le Petit Corbeau's*⁴¹ village of Sioux of 11 lodges, at the head of an Island, & a short distance below a high ridge of Limestone Rock, where we stopped a few minutes to trade for corn; Five miles further brought us to the "Painted Rock," on the *East* shore, having Tobacco, quills &c., &c., scattered round; which the Indians consider a Great Spirit, & to which they, when passing, make presents.

In descending the river grows narrower, & at some places cannot be more than 200 yards wide— The *E.* shore is generally bounded by high banks, the *W.* with low lands, well

⁴¹ LE PETIT CORBEAU ("Little Crow"), hereditary chief of the Kapoja band. The name was borne by successive individuals through several generations. This chief was in the council of Sioux that treated with Pike in 1805 for the sale of the land at the mouth of the St. Peter's as a site for the fort. (Coues' *Pike's Expedition*, pp. 82-84.) He was in the War of 1812, serving with the other Sioux chiefs already mentioned, at the attack on Fort Sandusky. ("Grignon's Recollections," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 269-70.) Major Forsyth, who accompanied Leavenworth on the trip up the Mississippi in 1819 to found the post at the mouth of the St. Peter's, in a letter to Gov. Clark mentions visiting Little Crow's village "at a place called the Grand Marie, being 23 leagues above the Red Wing's village, and within five leagues of the mouth of the St. Peter's River. Here I found in the Little Crow a steady, generous and independent Indian; he acknowledged the sale of the land at the mouth of the St. Peter's River to the United States, and said he had been looking every year since the sale for the troops to build a fort, and was now happy to see us all, as the Sioux would now have their Father with them." (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 217.) Little Crow made a visit to Washington in 1824. References to him may be found in "Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling," *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 27; Neill's *History of Minnesota*, pp. 292 and 326; Forsyth's Journal, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 205 *et seq.*, "Documents Relating to the Carver Grant," *ibid.*, p. 252 *et seq.*; and Keating's *Long's Expedition*, p. 283 *et seq.*



(From an old print.)

LITTLE CROW'S VILLAGE.

timbered—Reached the St. Croix river about dusk, 100 yards wide, flowing in on the *E. side* & being about the width of the Mississippi, at the junction, & its course not varying much, it has frequently been by strangers mistaken for that river, & ascended some distance, 'ere the error was detected—dropped anchor in the middle of the stream, a few yards below, for the night.

uly 30th, Sunday.

Weighed anchor at 4 A.M. at which time there was a thick fog on the river, but which was dispersed at 7— Passed "*Red Wing*" (he who had treated us so politely at his village on the 22nd inst) ascending the river in a canoe with his squaw, who immediately recognized me, made them some presents, & proceeding passed, at 10 A.M., the mouth of the Cannon river, 25 yards wide, & soon reached the Indian village where we were oversaken by "*Red Wing*" & halting the boat, we accompanied him to his lodge, & remained a few minutes— Reached "*Lake Pepin*" (an expansion of the Mississippi, & from 1 to 3 miles wide) at noon. This Lake is considered (on account of having no harbors, & the water easily disturbed by winds) very dangerous to navigate; & but few Boatmen, should there be the least wind, would consent to undertake to cross it: The weather being clear and calm, we apprehended no difficulty— Passed a point of Rocks⁴² on the *E. shore* 200 feet above the surface of the water, from which, (as 'tis reported) a squaw⁴³ being attached to one Indian & betrothed by her parents to another, in a fit of despair took "*the lover's Leap*," and thus fell a sacrifice to a feeling of sentiment very rarely to be found amongst

⁴² "*Maiden's Rock*" is the name by which this point was known. A picture of it engraved by Seymour appears in Keating's *Long's Expedition*, i, at p. 84, and a much better one in Mrs. Mary Eastman's *Dakotah: or Life and Legends of the Sioux Around Fort Snelling*. (N. Y., 1849), p. 165.

⁴³ Winona, which signifies "*the first born daughter*," is supposed to have been the name of the "*squaw*" referred to by Kearny. Tradition, of course, describes her as "*a beauteous young Indian maiden*." Her story is told at length by Keating, i, p. 280.

savages. Below this our boat stopped for a short time & several curious specimens of Copper, Flint, Iron & Carnelion were found. We here observed large branches of trees, of the size of a common man's body, much bent, & of a blackish color, & upon close examination found them to be covered with bugs or flies $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long with small bodies—shaking the branches, they recovered their green appearance & erect positions, these insects leaving them, which we found perfectly innocent & harmless. Arrived at the lower end of the Lake (which is 22 miles long) at 11 P.M. where we anchored, in middle of the stream. In the lake we found no current, tho' elsewhere in the river the water generally runs from 1 to 3 nots per hour; which we find of great assistance, in as much as we have a boat of 30 Tons, & as yet having had but little wind to favor us, we are obliged to depend upon our oarsmen 12 in number.

July 31st.

At 4 A.M., with a heavy fog, weighed anchor, passed Chippe-way river on the *East* & The Great Encampment⁴⁴ on the *W* side; This takes its name from the circumstance of almost all the traders stopping here either in *as-* or *descending* the river, for the purpose of hunting, drying or airing their goods or baggage, or refitting & overhauling their boats; passed "Prairie Le Aisle,"⁴⁵ at the bottom of which we found "*Wabasha's*"⁴⁶

⁴⁴ "Great [or Grand] Encampment." There is a dispute among historians as to whether or not the "fortifications" mentioned by Capt. Carver in his *Travels* (p. 54 of the London ed.), went by this name. Long's party decided against it. (Keating, i, pp. 276-78.) Kearny's version of the origin of the name is probably right.

⁴⁵ "Prairie Le Aisle," a meaningless phrase as it stands, and open to various renderings, as L'Aile, L'Ail, or L'Ile. Pike's text (1807), p. 12, has "L'aile." (See Coues' Pike, i, p. 54, note 57.)

⁴⁶ WABASHA was one of the principal Sioux chiefs, being considered the head of the seventeen bands of that tribe residing south of the St. Peter's River. (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 214.) The name was borne by three chiefs in successive generations, and is derived from "wapa" (a leaf) and "sha" (red), meaning "red leaf." The Indian name has been spelled in a variety of ways, but the one given was the most common. In French it was usually "La Feuille," and in English "The Leaf," each without the adjective. Wabasha I was famous during the Revolutionary War, and was

Indian village; of 10 lodges; stopped & visited him, he then came on board our boat, bringing with him an

regarded as the head of the Sioux Nation. Wabasha II, his son, is the one mentioned above, a chief equally great, who grew in credit and renown with years. He led the whole Sioux contingent in the War of 1812. His influence over the other chiefs probably gained for him this honor. And yet he professed not to be a warrior, believing that Indians could prosper only at peace with one another and with the whites. He seems to have been induced to join the fortunes of the British against his inclination. After the war the Indians were left in a wretched condition, and in consequence were much downcast. Gen. Cass preserved a touching speech of Wabasha's, made at Drummond's Island in 1815, when Col. McDowell, the British commander, offered him some presents. "My father," he said, "what is this I see before me? A few knives and blankets. Is this all you promised us at the beginning of the war? Where are those promises you made us at Michilimackinac, and sent to our villages on the Mississippi? You told us you would never let fall the hatchet until the Americans were driven beyond the mountains; that our British father would never make peace without consulting his red children. Has that come to pass? We never knew of this peace. We are now told it was made by our great father beyond the water, without the knowledge of his war-chiefs; that it is our duty to obey his orders. What is this to us? Will these paltry presents pay for the men we have lost? * * * Will they soothe the feelings of our friends? Will they make good your promises to us? For myself, I am an old man. I have lived long, and always found the means of supporting myself, and I can so still." (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 194, *note*.) Two years later he was visited at his village by Maj. Long, who says of him: "He is considered one of the most honest and honorable of any of the Indians, and endeavors to inculcate into the minds of his people the sentiments and principles adopted by himself." (Long's *Skiff Voyage* (1817), *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 7.) He was seen in 1820 by Gen. Henry Whiting, who describes him as a small man with a patch over one eye, who nevertheless impressed everyone with respect, and whose profile was said to resemble that of the illustrious Conde. "While with us at Prairie du Chien," says Whiting, "he never moved or was seen without his pipe-bearer. His people treated him with reverence. Unlike all other speakers in council, he spoke sitting, considering, it was said, that he was called upon to stand only in the presence of his great father at Washington, or his representative at St. Louis." (Coues' *Pike's Expedition*, p. 44.) It will be noticed above, in the text of the journal, that he seated himself before addressing Kearny's party. This was the year following the establishment of the military post at the mouth of the St. Peter's above Wabasha's village. From the speech we gather that he had not yet become accustomed to the idea of having the Americans on the river above him, although he himself had been a party to the cession of the land to the United States some years before. A few years later, however, he seems to have become reconciled, for Keating chronicles

Indian (a brother-in-law of Col. Dickson,⁴⁷ a celebrated British trader) who understood French, & by whom we were enabled to hold a conversation.

The question as to the number of his band having been inadvertently put to him, he immediately appeared to be somewhat excited, & rising, he took a glass of water (as if to prepare himself), then throwing his blanket over his left shoulder & arm, his right one remaining bare, he reseated himself, & commenced a speech which lasted for 5 minutes, displaying a great fluency of words & accompanied with the most easy & graceful gestures.—

The substance of "Wabasha's" speech, as interpreted, was "That he did not relish the idea of the Whites being on the river above him; That he wished them to remove; That he could not force them, but unless they did, he would complain to his "Great Father." This W. is a great & powerful chief, & for many years has been distinguished on this river.

Leaving his village, we continued to "La Montagne qui

(1823): "His disposition to the Americans has generally been a friendly one, and his course of policy is well spoken of." (Keating's *Long's Expedition*, i, p. 250) "He was then about 50 years old," says Keating, "but appears older; his prominent features are good and indicative of great acuteness and of a prying disposition; his stature is low; he has long been one of the most influential of the Dacota [Sioux] Indians, more, perhaps, from his talents in the council than his achievements in the field. He is represented as being a wise and prudent man, a forcible and impressive orator." (*ibid.*) Beltrami, the imaginative Italian traveler, who idealized all the Indians he saw, said Wabasha's "appearance was that of a great statesman, wanting nothing to complete the resemblance but an embroidered coat, a large portfolio under his arm, and spectacles." (Beltrami's *Pilgrimage*, ii, p. 181.) Wabasha's village was on the site of the present Winona, Minn. For Wabasha III, his successor, see note 50, *infra*.

⁴⁷ ROBERT DICKSON was an Englishman who began to trade with the Sioux as early as 1790, and acquired much fame in the early history of the country. He took a prominent part in encouraging the Western tribes to take up arms against the Americans. Yet he was instrumental in saving many Americans from barbarous treatment at the hands of the savages. In 1817 he was brought to St. Louis a prisoner, charged with alienating the Sioux from the United States, in complicity with Lord Selkirk. He was soon afterward released and allowed to return to Canada. (See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, i, 2d ed 1872, p. 390, and Coues' *Pike's Expedition*, p. 117, note 23.)



WABASHA II.
Sioux Chief.

Trempe à l'Eau"⁴⁸ (the mountain which soaks in the river) where we anchored for the night— This mountain is near the *E* shore, nearly two miles in circumference, & upwards of 200 feet elevation above the surface of the water, & having a river,⁴⁹ falling in to the Mississ. in its rear.

This river we have hitherto found beautifully diversified with Islands, of a variety of shapes & dimensions, & its banks offering to the eye much picturesque & interesting scenery— Today, particularly, we have seen on the *W* shore, for several miles, a succession of hills, about 200 feet high, & a thousand, long, well timbered, on their sides & front, but Tops bare, in the shape of immense buildings & very regular, & divided or separated by ravines, 50 feet wide, leading to the river.

August 1st.

Started at 4 A.M.—passed Black river to the East about 100 yards wide at its mouth; met a canoe with 6 Indians ascending the river; they came on board, & one we found to be a nephew⁵⁰ of Wabasha, treated them with some whiskey,

⁴⁸ Carver says: "About sixty miles below this Lake [Pepin] is a mountain remarkably situated; for it stands by itself exactly in the middle of the river, and looks as if it had slidden from the adjacent shore into the stream. It cannot be termed an island, as it rises immediately from the brink of the water to a considerable height. Both the Indians and the French call it the Mountain in the River." (Carver's *Travels*, Boston ed. 1797, p. 39.)

⁴⁹ The river is now known as the "Trempealeau," and runs through the county of the same name in Wisconsin.

⁵⁰ The nephew of Wabasha, here mentioned, may have been the one who succeeded him as Wabasha III. Although Coues speaks of Wabasha III as the *son* of the old chief, and says he resided at the village below Lake Pepin, we have the authority of Long, who met both the old chief and his designated successor, that the latter was a *nephew*. He says: "Met the nephew of La Feuille [Wabasha] and another Indian, who were on a hunting expedition. My interpreter informed the nephew, *who is to succeed his uncle in the office of chief*, that a party of the Sioux Indians of his village had followed us, to beg whiskey, after we had given them all we thought it prudent to part with. He appeared much offended that they should have done so, and eagerly inquired if his uncle was not at home to restrain them. We gave them some tobacco and whiskey and left them." (Long's *Skiff Voyage* (1817), *Minn. Hist. Colls.* ii., p. 21.) Wabasha III resided at the village mentioned till 1853, and in 1872 was living on the Niobrara Reservation. (Coues' *Pike*, p. 44, note 50.)

when they left us— Passed “Prairie Le Cross;” (so called from the circumstance of a game of ball by that name being frequently played by the Indians at that place) The Prairie commences at the mouth of the river of that name, about 15 yards wide, & extends, on the *E.* shore, about a mile, & bounded in the rear by high hills and cliffs, a mile from the Mississippi— Saw several geese & Pelicans, many of which we fired at, but without success—The afternoon, quite warm, & at 5 P.M. passed the grave of an Indian interpreter, who had been drowned last summer, & whose body about 20 days subsequently was found, suspended to some branches of a tree, by some of the 5th Inf’y, was recognized and interred at this place—⁵¹

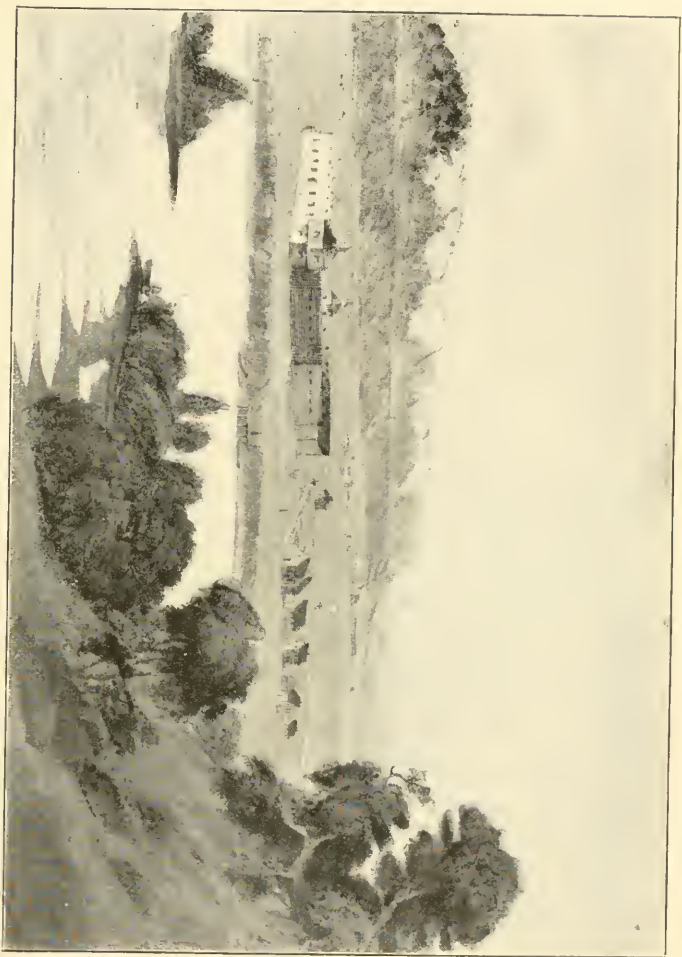
The Sand bars in this river we find to inconvenience [us] very much; for it is impossible, even with the greatest care, to prevent running on them & we are then detained considerably, ere we can get off. Passed the Iowa river on the *West* at 9 P.M., & all on board being desirous of proceeding tonight, we continued, winding our course with the turns of the channel of the river.

August 2nd.

At 4 A.M. passed Yellow river, 20 yards wide, on the *West*, & at 5 reached “Prairie Du Chien,” where we found two companies of the 5th Regt. established in comfortable barracks, 100 yards square, with 2 block houses at opposite angles, & 200 yards from the water—

The village of Prairie Du Chien, which was first established by the French from Canada in 1770, for the purpose of trade

⁵¹ That part of the 5th Infantry which established the post at the mouth of the St. Peter’s, under command of Col. Leavenworth, had passed here the summer before on its way up the river. Maj. Thos. Forsyth, an Indian agent who accompanied the expedition, kept a journal of their voyage. He records that they left Prairie du Chien 8 Aug., 1819. An entry made the following day, when they must have reached the point mentioned by Kearny, contains this statement: “We this day found the body of A. Aunger, and buried it.” (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 201.) We may reasonably infer this to have been the unfortunate interpreter whose grave Kearny noted.



(From an old print.)

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN AND FORT CRAWFORD.

or traffic with the Indians, is on the *E.* bank of the Mississippi, 5 miles by water above the mouth of the Ouisconsin— It is the most advanced white settlement on this river & may consist of 100 houses, lying in 3 different detachments— These houses are of logs, & are much better calculated to resist the heat of the summer than the winter cold— The Inhabitants about 500, mostly French, very hospitable, & pleased to see and entertain strangers.⁵²

The Prairie on which the village is built extends for some miles on the river, & is bounded in the rear by hills 400 feet high, two miles distant from the water; about midway up these hills runs a ledge of rocks & many other indications are to be seen, to lead to the conclusion of their having once been the boundary of the river.

We were politely received by the officers at this Post, & our baggage having been carried into the Cantonment, we were invited to live at the Mess during our stay at the Post.⁵³

⁵² Prairie du Chien village began as a rendezvous for Indians of various tribes who came thither to trade with one another. By common consent the place was regarded as neutral ground, where the different tribes, however hostile to one another, might visit and trade in safety. The French began to settle there in 1737, much earlier than Kearny says, and set up a trading post. He overestimated the size of the town. According to the statements of Judge Lockwood, a pioneer citizen, and of Maj. Long, who made a careful count, it had probably not over 200 people. Nearly all of French blood, immixed with Indian, they were good Indian traders and voyagers, but not very enterprising citizens. Not until 1835, after the Indian troubles had subsided, did the Americans settle there in any considerable number and make it a self-respecting town. (See Lockwood's "Early Times in Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. 114 *et seq.*)

⁵³ "Fort Crawford" was the name of the post. It was built in 1816 by the Rifle Regiment, on the same spot, the top of a mound, where had stood a stockade of the same name, erected by the Americans in 1814, captured by the British and held by them till the peace of 1815. During the several years intervening between the completion of the fort and the time Kearny wrote, the commanding officer of the post was Lieutenant-Colonel Willoughby Morgan, the senior officer accompanying our party. The fort was abandoned in 1826 through the instrumentality of Col. Snelling, who disliked Prairie du Chien for differences he had had with some of its principal inhabitants, and the troops were removed to Fort Snelling. The following year, on account of fresh Indian troubles, two companies were returned. The fort was thereafter continuously garrisoned till 1831, when a newer fort of the same name was erected in another part of the town.

August 3d.

Passed the day partly in Camp & partly in the village— In the evening visited some *Wig Wams* where I found a very pretty squaw, who during my visit fell into fits.

This afternoon about 30 of the principal warriors & leading men of the Winnebagos arrived at the village.

August 4th.

Having exchanged boats, & obtained one of about 12 Tons, with 6 oarsmen, left Prairie Du Chien at 9 A.M., with a fresh & fair breeze— Passed the Ouisconsin river on the *East*.

This river is about 600 yards wide at its mouth, & connected with the Fox river, (between which, there is but one mile portage) forms the communication from the Upper Lakes to the Mississippi. Passed Turkey River on the *W.* & two miles below on the *East* shore an old deserted village of the Sioux, 20 lodges, on a handsome Prairie & bounded in the rear by high Prairie hills— During the day had frequent showers of rain—saw many Pelicans, which at a distance make a very handsome shew—

Having no cabouse on board, we were obliged to put to, at 7 P.M. (on the *W.* shore, under a high bluff) to allow our men to get their suppers in good season—

After dark endeavored to gig some fish, but were not able to succeed—put out our lines, but to no purpose—made to-day about 40 miles.

August 5th.

The mosquitoes we found last night very troublesome— Started at 4 A.M. passed “Bear Creek” on the *West* & at breakfast time stopped at a small Island, where we saw a large flock of pigeons, & secured 8 of them for our dinner. At 10 A.M. stopped at a settlement of traders, (where we

(Lockwood.) (See also Long’s Voyage of 1817, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii. p. 52 *et seq.*) The commanding officer at the time of Kearny’s visit was Capt. J. Fowle, 5th Infantry. He is mentioned by Schoolcraft, who came along, with Gov. Cass, just three days after Kearny.

found Dr. Muir,⁵⁴ late of the army, with his squaw & 2 children) opposite a "Fox village" of 17 lodges, & 100 Inhabitants— On a high hill, at one end of the village, we saw a small building, covering the remains of Mr. Dubuque,⁵⁵ who

⁵⁴ SAMUEL C. MUIR, born in District of Columbia, became a surgeon's mate in the 1st Infantry, 7 April, 1813, and was honorably discharged 15 June, 1815. He was reinstated 13 Sept., 1815, in the 8th Infantry; became a hospital surgeon's mate 31 Oct., 1817; a post surgeon 18 April, 1818, and resigned 1 Aug., 1818. He again became a post surgeon 28 Sept., 1818, but was dropped for good 27 July, 1819. Col. John Shaw, in his "Personal Narrative," says: "About this period [1815] Dr. Muir, of the United States Army, whom I had seen at Fort Johnston in 1814, was at Prairie du Chien, when his life was threatened, and he was saved by a young Sauk squaw, whom he married, and by whom he raised a family. Dr. Muir often related to me the incidents of his wife's heroism in saving him, but the particulars I have forgotten. Like most persons connected with the army, he was too fond of liquor; otherwise he might have risen to distinction and usefulness." (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 224.) A note on the foregoing, by L. C. D[raper], says Muir was a Scotchman, a good physician, who had been educated at Edinburgh; that while trading with the Winnebagoes a plan was concocted to kill him, "when a young squaw apprised him of it, and secreted him in a cave and supplied him with food till the alarm passed away. In gratitude to his deliverer, he took her with him as his wife, and settled at Galena and raised several children. Dr. Muir was afterwards among the first settlers at Keokuk, where he carried on the Indian trade, and where he died [24 Sept., 1832], after which his family joined the Indians." (*ibid.*)

⁵⁵ JULIEN DUBUQUE is the man for whom Dubuque, Iowa, is named. His ancestor, Jean Baptiste Dubuc, born in 1641 in Trinity Parish, Diocese of Rouen, son of Pierre Dubuc and Marie Hotot, married Francoise L'Archevêque in 1668 at Quebec. Their son Romain, baptised in 1671, married in 1693 Anne Pinel. Their son Noel-Augustin, baptised in 1707, married in 1744 Marie Mailhot. Their son Julien was baptised in 1762 at Saint-Pierre-les-Becquets. Julien Dubuque emigrated to the province of Louisiana in 1774 and settled at Prairie du Chien in 1785. He very soon obtained great influence over the Indians, for he became familiar with their conjurations and magic. He learned of the existence of the lead mines on the west of the Mississippi, discovered in 1780 by the wife of the chief Peosta, of the Foxes. Realizing the value of the discovery he tried to obtain a grant of the land from the Indians, who had steadfastly refused to make concession to any white man. By means of his almost supernatural power, as the Indians believed, he succeeded in securing a grant of seven leagues along the Mississippi River and three leagues in depth, at a grand council of the Indians, held at Prairie du Chien in 1788. The location of the grant was about 500 miles above St. Louis. To gain the goodwill of the Spanish possessors of the soil he named the plant "The Mines of Spain", and in 1796 sent a petition to the Governor of Louisiana, Baron de

died in 1808, & who obtained from the Spanish government (previous to the cession of this country to the Americans) the title to the "Lead Mines," which commence one mile from this place— These mines are at present partially worked by 5 or 6 of the "Fox Indians."

We were politely received by Dr. M. & the traders— On leaving them, passed two canoes, with Indians, descending the river, & were accosted by them with "*How de do, How de do, How de do*" a salutation I find every Indian on the Mississippi acquainted with—

Landed, at dark, on a sand beach, on the *E.* shore—put our hook & line, & caught the largest Eel I ever saw.

August 6th. Sunday.

Proceeded, at 4 A.M., with a strong head wind— Passed a Keel Boat, from St. Louis, on its way to Prairie Du Chien,

Carondelet, setting forth his claims. It was referred to Andrew Todd, who had a monopoly of the Indian trade of the upper Mississippi. Todd replied that he saw no reason why Dubuque should not be given the land provided he would not trade with the Indians without Todd's consent. Dubuque then proceeded to operate the mines, using Indian labor. It is said that such was his influence that he made the Indians *work*. Out of his lead and peltries, which he shipped semi-annually to St. Louis, he amassed a large fortune. Nearly all early travelers upon the Mississippi visited his mines. He died in 1810. His devoted Indians followed his body to the grave in a wailing procession, and for years thereafter it is said they placed a lighted torch on it every night. Certain of them dutifully made annual pilgrimages to the tomb. (*Les Canadiens de L'Ouest* par Joseph Tasse, Montreal, 1878, pp. 239-62.) A visit to it by Thomas L. McKenney is thus described in his article "The Winnebago War of 1827" (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 202): "Arriving at DuBuques sixty miles below the Prairie, we stopped, and visited the grave. This grave is on a high bluff, or point of land, formed by the junction of the Black River with the Mississippi, on the West side of the latter. A village of Fox Indians occupied the low lands south of the bluff—of these Indians we procured the guide who piloted us to DuBuque's last resting place. The ascent was rather fatiguing. Over the grave was a stone, covered with a roof of wood. Upon the stone was a cross on which was carved in rude letters 'Julien DuBuque, died 24th March, 1810, aged 45 years.' Nearby was the burial spot of an Indian Chief." (See also "Indian Chiefs and Pioneers of the North-West," by Col. John Shaw, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 221, Schoolcraft's *Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi*, Phil. Ed., 1855, p. 169, and *Dubuque Claim* [pamphlet], St. Louis, 1845.)

belonging to "Mr. Johnson,⁵⁶ the Factor," loaded with stores, &c., &c., Saw on the *W.* shore several deserted Lodges, & near them a furnace, where the "Foxes" run their Lead, they having mines in this vicinity— Shortly afterwards passed the mouth of the "Wapibisinekaw," about 150 yards wide, & flowing in to the Mississippi from the West. Near this we saw many geese but could not approach to within shooting distance, & a flock of 3 or 400 Pelicans, one of which was shot, but he recovered & flew off 'ere we reached him.

The Banks of the river & the Lands in the rear have assumed a different character from that they exhibited above— The soil, near the river, is clay & the Prairie Bottoms are extending a mile from it, bounded by high hills well covered with timber, & shewing very many beautiful situations for Farms & Buildings— Anchored, at dark, on the *E.* shore, having been detained considerably today in getting over Sand bars that we frequently, inadvertantly, run on— Caught several cat-fish, Pickerel & Turtle.

August 7th.

Started, at 4 A.M., Passed on the *East* shore a high Prairie, for the distance of 8 miles, & reached the "Fox" village⁵⁷ on the West, of 19 lodges, where we stopped a few minutes, and traded for some corn.

⁵⁶ JOHN W. JOHNSON, a native of Maryland, was the U. S. factor with headquarters at Prairie du Chien. The factories which he had charge of, says Judge Lockwood, "were established by an Act of Congress previous to the war of 1812, for the humane purpose of preventing the British traders from extortions on the Indians, and of counteracting British influence over them, which they exercised through the traders." From the standpoint of the Indians it would doubtless have been well had they received equal protection from the American traders, who were accustomed to pass off on them goods much inferior to those of British make. Johnson was successively justice of the peace at Prairie du Chien and chief justice of the county court. He married the widow of Captain George Gooding, mentioned in *note* 38. In 1832, after being relieved of his duties as factor, by the winding up of the factory system of Indian trade, he removed with his family to St. Louis, where he died a few years afterwards.

⁵⁷ The Fox village was near the site of the present town of Princeton, Scott county, Iowa. (Coues, p. 26, *n.* 31.)

Five miles from this village brought us to the head of the "Rapids De Roche," & entering them, we descended with but little difficulty only striking & sticking on the rocks three times (which was very well, considering we had no Pilot) & reached the foot of them at 1 P.M., they being about 18 miles long— Four miles from this brought us to Fort Armstrong,⁵⁸ at the lower end of Rock Island. During the day we were much opposed by strong Head winds, & a severe rain, which increased the difficulty of navigation thro' the Rapids, the current of which however we did not find more than 5 nots per hour.

Rock Island, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, & $1\frac{3}{4}$ wide, lies near the E or Illinois shore, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles above Stoney, or Rock River, & is well covered with timber & of good soil; The Fort on it was built in 1815, & is a neat work, with 3 block houses, & capable of resisting any attack from Indians. It forms a part of the chain of Posts on the Mississippi, & is eligible situated, being in the neighborhood of many tribes, & the most war like & powerful on the river. 'Twas on this Island that two of the "Winnebagos," in the month of April, shot two of our Soldiers. The murderers having been demanded of the Chief or Principal men of that Tribe, were a month since brought in by them & are now confined in the Fort, with a ball & chain attached to their arms & legs— When examined, they made a candid confession of their crime, &

⁵⁸ Fort Armstrong was built in 1816 and named in honor of the then Secretary of War. A post there was needed as a protection against the restless Sac and Fox Indians, then numbering about 11,800 persons, living in villages on both sides of the river near the island. A historical sketch of it by Mrs. Maria Peck may be found in the *Annals of Iowa*, i, 3d Series, p. 602. A good description of the works is given by Long in his 1817 manuscript, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii. The appearance of the fort on the beautiful wooded island was highly romantic. Gov. Ford in his *History of Illinois* compares "the white-washed walls and tower of the fort perched upon a high cliff, as seen from a distance, to one of those enchanted castles in an uninhabited desert, so graphically described in the Arabian Nights." Col. Morgan of Kearny's party had been the commanding officer at the post in 1816 and 1817. After the Black Hawk War the fort was abandoned. Since then an ordnance post has occupied the island (Rock Island Arsenal) and is to-day one of the most important manufacturing arsenals in the country.

only demanded immediate death— I visited these fellows, & found one of them in consequence of confinement much indisposed.—

August 8th.

In the afternoon, in company with Lieut. Col M. & Lt. P., crossed over to the “Fox Village” of 30 lodges; It is on the *E.* shore, opposite the Fort, & about 300 yards distant— We obtained horses, saddles & bridles, from the Indians, & rode to the “Rock River,” 4 miles from its mouth & distant from the Fort about 3 miles—we passed over a very handsome country, having on our right an extensive rich Prairie, reaching to the Mississippi, & on our left, a gentle hill, well covered with corn, beans, &c., &c. & thickly settled—on the Rock river we found the Principal village of the *Sac Nations*⁵⁹— They can here muster 1,000 warriors, & they are considered the most efficient of any of the Indian warriors, being better armed, mounted, & equipped. We found them at a Feast, of which Col. M. participated, the heat prevented me from attending. Saw, in front of one of the chiefs lodges, some scalps, which have lately been taken from the “Sioux,” the Sacs having surprised & murdered a party of that Tribe, consisting of 3 old men, 3 women, & 3 children. These two nations are now determined to go to War, & most probably some bloody battles will be fought, 'ere their difference is accommodated. We returned to the Fort at sundown. The day has been excessively hot & oppressive— Mercury at 96 in the shade.

⁵⁹ This Sac village, according to Major Long (1817), was by far the largest Indian village along the Mississippi between St. Louis and the Falls of St. Anthony. Its Indian name was Makataimeshekiakiak, translated Black Sparrow Hawk, which became contracted into “Black Hawk.” It contained about 100 cabins and had a population of between 2000 and 3000. It could furnish over 800 warriors all armed with rifles or fuses. The famous Black Hawk was the leading chief here at this time. Both the Sacs and the Foxes cultivated vast fields of corn in this region. These tribes, whose names are usually linked together, were allies in war but otherwise had only a nominal connection. The Sacs, who outnumbered the Foxes, dwelt on the East side of the river, and the Foxes on the West.

August 9th.

Six chiefs⁶⁰ of the "Sacs & Foxes" dined with us, at Maj. Marston's,⁶¹ the commandant of the Fort, & shewed by their manners & conduct that politeness is not confined exclusively to the Whites. They ate & drank agreeably to our customs, & tho' not much used to a knife & fork, or a wineglass, they displayed not the least awkwardness in the managing of either.

We had intended leaving here today, but the oppressive heat thro'out (the mercury being at 97) prevented us.

August 10th.

Having purchased, for Six bottles of whiskey, a Canoe, 25 feet long, & 2 broad, we left "Rock Island," at 6 A.M. our party being now reduced to Lieut. Col. Morgan, Lieut. Pentland, myself & two waiters, one belonging to the Col, the other my own, & each of us seated on the bottom of the boat, with a paddle in hand to work with.

Passed "Rock River" on the East, a handsome & extensive low Prairie on the West;—a small river, called "Pine Creek." In the afternoon, reached "Prairie Island," near the W. shore, which we found 10 miles long, & encamped at sundown, a few miles below the extremity of it.—made today 45 miles.—

⁶⁰ BLACK HAWK was one of the number in all likelihood.

⁶¹ MORRILL MARSTON, a native of N. H., entered the army from Mass. as 1st lieutenant in the 21st Infantry, 12 March, 1812; promoted to captain 26 June, 1813; transferred to 5th Infantry 17 May, 1815; received brevet of major 15 August, 1814, for distinguished service in defence of Fort Erie; dismissed 27 September, 1824; died 9 March, 1831. (Heitman.) After his service at Fort Armstrong he was commanding officer at Fort Edwards, further down the river, where one of his duties seems to have been to stop and search all boats ascending the river to the Indian country to ascertain whether or not they were carrying whisky, a contraband article in the Indian trade. Dr. Meeker recounts that on a trip up the river his party was brought to by a shot from the fort across the bow of his boat. Marston, when he found they had liquor aboard, threatened to confiscate it. On the assurance that it was to be used by Meeker's own men at the lead mines he relented, and, says Meeker, "as was the custom of the day, the brandy soothed all difficulties." ("Early History of the Lead Region", by Dr. Moses Meeker, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi., pp. 278-9.)

August 11th.

Rose at the first dawn of day, & as we had all been much tormented with the mosquitoes since our landing, we started without delay— Passed the Ayauwa⁶² river on the W, & shortly afterwards stopped to breakfast. After which the wind being somewhat favorable, we hoisted sail, but had not proceeded 3 miles, when it died away, & the Sun shone out so intensely hot, that notwithstanding our being considerably hardened & our anxiety to move on, we were obliged to stop til about 3 P.M. when we again started, & continued our course 'til dark—40 miles.

August 12th.

We were off again at day break, Passed "Pole cat river" on the W. some Traders house, a short distance below, & immediately afterwards Flint Hill (so called, from its composition), which we found 6 miles long & about 100 feet high. Stopped at old "Fort Madison,"⁶³ on the W. shore, where are the remains of nine chimneys, & some Pickets, & scattering stones, that indicate a military work once existed here. Reached the "Des Moines Rapids" at sundown, & descended, occasionally striking on a Rock, tho' sustaining no injury, passed two boats, with provisions, for "Prairie Du Chien," & arrived at "Fort Edwards" at 12 at night, having made 65 miles.

⁶² "Ayauwa" is one of the multitudinous early variations of the name *Iowa*. Nineteen of them are cited by Coues in his *Pike's Expedition* (p. 22) and he includes neither Kearny's rendering or the favorite "Ioway" of the early frontiersmen. Among the most nearly unrecognizable are "Aaiaoua" and "Aiavvi", although "Ajoë" and "Yahowa" are pretty well masked. See also Lewis and Clark, ed. 1893, p. 20.

⁶³ Fort Madison was built in 1808, according to the best authority, by Zachary Taylor, then a 1st Lieut. in the 7th Infantry. (Coues.) The post was attacked by Indians twice in 1813. In November of that year it was evacuated and burned on account of the failure of the garrison to receive needed provisions. The ruins were visited by Long in 1817, who found "nothing but old chimneys left standing, and a covert way leading from the main garrison to higher ground in the rear, where there was some kind of outwork. In the old garden were found peach, nectarine and apple trees." The present city of Fort Madison, the seat of Lee county, Iowa, and which occupies the old site, grew up in later years.

August 13th. Sunday.

Fort Edwards,⁶⁴ on the *E.* or Illinois shore, about 1 mile above the Des Moines River & 3 below the Rapids, is in Lat 40° 21' N. 'Tis a small square work, with 2 block houses, & capable of containing a company of soldiers— Built in 1815 on a high commanding eminence, & surrounded by a rich & handsome country.

This Post was abandoned 18 months since, but in consequence of the murder of the 2 soldiers at Rock Island, by the Indians, & the representations made by the Factor, of the hostility of the neighboring Tribes, a Lieut. with 20 men were sent here in May last.

August 14th.

In company with the Sub agent, visited the Sac village, a mile below the Fort, & on the Borders of the river. They here count about 100 Warriors. Purchased some sweet corn from the chief's squaw, & after looking at their lodges, 13 in number, their cornfields, &c., &c. returned to the Fort, & on my way passed the remains of the Cantonment⁶⁵ where the 8th Infy. were quartered in 1815 & '16.

August 15th.

At 8 A.M. we embarked on board our canoe, & descended one mile, to the mouth of the Des Moines, where we found the

⁶⁴ Fort Edwards, nearly opposite the mouth of the Des Moines River, was begun in June 1816, the labor being done by soldiers, and was not quite completed when visited by Long in 1817. He described it as "a palisade work constructed entirely of square timber. It is intended to contain two block houses, situated in the alternate angles of the Fort; a magazine of stone; barracks for the accommodation of one company of soldiers; officer's quarters; hospital, storerooms, etc." The troops could not have remained there very long for Kearny says the post was abandoned 18 months prior to his visit. Major Forsyth in 1819 found living in the evacuated fort some families who were entitled to land for services rendered during the War of 1812. On account of the insults offered them by drunken Indians in the neighborhood, Major Forsyth recommended to Gov. Clark that half a company of soldiers under a subaltern be stationed there. The suggestion seems to have been followed, as Kearny's next entry shows.

⁶⁵ Cantonment Edwards, to which Kearny refers, was the precursor of Fort Edwards. It was half a mile s. w. from the fort and was abandoned when the new works were completed.

Steam Boat, "Western Engineer,"⁶⁶ commanded by Lieut. Graham,⁶⁷ who came here a week since, for the purpose of taking observations, &c. Put our baggage on board, & fastened the canoe to her. Near this saw a coffin containing the bones of an Indian tied fast to the centre of a large tree which was done at the request of the deceased to preserve his fame after the extinction of his body.

Proceeded at 10 & run about 15 miles when about 1 P.M. we found ourselves on the Sand bar & from which we endeavored, but without success, to extricate ourselves. The boat has but few hands & those sick with fevers.

August 16th.

At 8 A.M. we succeeded after much exertion in getting off the Sandbar & in endeavoring to cross to the opposite shore to reach the channel, we ran on another bar about 200 yards from the one we left, & found ourselves even faster than before.⁶⁸

At 2 P.M., aware of the uncertainty of the Steam Boat reaching St. Louis, and our party being desirous to proceed without loss of time we took to our canoe, & having a favorable breeze hoisted sail.

⁶⁶ Steamboat "Western Engineer." See note 12.

⁶⁷ JAMES DUNCAN GRAHAM, born 1799 in Virginia, was appointed cadet, U. S. Military Academy, 19 June, 1813; promoted to 3d lieutenant, Artillery Corps, 17 July, 1817; 2d lieutenant, 14 October 1817; 1st lieutenant, 8 September 1819; transferred to 4th Artillery, 1 June 1821; to 3d Artillery, 16 August 1821; brevet captain, Topographical Engineers, 15 January 1829; brevet major, 14 September 1834; major, 7 July, 1838; brevet lieutenant-colonel, 1 January 1847, for valuable and highly distinguished services, particularly on the boundary line between the U. S. and Canada; lieutenant-colonel, 6 August, 1861, and Corps of Engineers, 3 March, 1863; colonel, 1 June, 1863; died at Boston, 28 December, 1865. Graham's service as an army engineer was of the highest order. Some of his most conspicuous work was in connection with the settlement of international boundary disputes. He was a member of several U. S. boundary commissions. (Cullom's *Biog. Reg. etc., U. S. M. A.*)

⁶⁸ These particular sand-bars were a source of frequent trouble to navigators. Pike's 70-foot keel-boat got shoaled at about the same place on his voyage up the river in 1805. A good deal of engineering work was done there in after years.

Two miles below stopped at a settlement⁶⁹ (the first we have seen since leaving Prairie Du Chien) & engaged Four Men to assist the Steam Boat from her present situation. Passed the "Wakendaw River" on the West at which point we saw large flocks of Turkeys—after which reached "The Two Rivers,"⁷⁰ so called from the circumstance of their entering the Mississippi 100 yards apart. Stopped here and took some coffee, when we re-embarked, and it being after dark, passed "Hannibal," without seeing it, and at 12 at night landed and laid down to sleep, all of us being quite weary and tired.

August 17th.

Proceeded at 6 A.M; and shortly met a boat ascending the river which we boarded; found her destined for Fort Edwards. The Factor and some officers and Ladies on board.

Passed Salt River on the left, & landed a short distance below at "Louisiana," apparently a thriving place and the capital County Town of Pike County. The Inhabitants we found mostly sick with fevers, & a keel boat being about starting for St. Louis we determined to take a passage on board. This boat is freighted with furs, and worked by six Frenchmen, commanded by a young American, whom the former pay no regard nor respect to. Passed "Clarksville" on the *West*; at dark all on board went to sleep leaving the boat to drift at will, not however 'til a watch of two had been detailed, whose duty I found consisted in sleeping more soundly than the others, the bow and stern being appropriated to them.

⁶⁹ The settlement was probably Wyaconda or Waconda, so-called from the river of that name, which Kearny gives as the "Wakendaw River." The place is now La Grange, Lewis County, Missouri, a little above Quincy, Illinois.

⁷⁰ "Two Rivers" was a couple of miles above a spot that became the site of a "paper town" that rejoiced in the name of "Marion City", so Coues tells us. Streets and lots galore were laid out to accommodate a great population, which however failed to take advantage of the opportunity. The place is supposed to have inspired Charles Dickens with the idea of "Eden", the immortal boom town in "Martin Chuzzlewit."

August 18th.

On awaking in the morning we found we had progressed but slowly during the night, not having made more than 4 or 5 miles.

In the morning passed by "Quiver"⁷¹ on the West and at noon reached "Capo Gray."⁷² At this point the river is quite narrow, not more than 300 yards wide. On the West side are the remains of old "Fort Independence,"⁷³ erected during the late war for the protection of the Frontier Inhabitants. 12 miles brought us to "Little Capo Gray" where we saw several settlements, & it being dark all hands retired to rest, the same ceremony of the appointment of watch having been gone thro' as the night previous.

August 19th.

At day break passed the "Illinois River" on the East. A short distance below this commences a ridge of Rocks (about 1200 feet high, very irregular, and forming the most antic appearances that can possibly be imagined), which continues as low as "Portage De Sioux," the shore on the west being low and sandy. This Town is prettily situated & is not more than 2 miles to the nearest point of the Missouri,

⁷¹ Not "Quiver", but *Cuivre*, the French word meaning *copper*, was and still is the name of the large stream and island observed by Kearny. Many travelers, including Lewis and Clark, have fallen into the same phonetic trap. It was known also in early days as "Rivière aux Boeufs", or Buffalo River. Pike called it that. The stream comes into the Mississippi as the dividing line between Lincoln and St. Charles Counties, Missouri.

⁷² "Capo Gray" should be *Cap au Grès*. This is another French term that lent itself to conversion by Americans into an English phrase of similar sound but different meaning. Even the French fell into the habit of rendering the name "Cap au Gris", mistaking *grès*, a noun, meaning sandstone, for the adjective *gris*, meaning gray. It was also called "Cap au Gré," an obvious error. Similar corruptions of early French terms in this region might be instanced. "*Vide Poche*" (empty pocket) an ancient name given the village of Carondelet (now a part of the city of St. Louis) became anglicized in many mouths into "wheat bush."

⁷³ "Fort Independence" was one of the many temporary stockades erected in St. Charles County during the war of 1812. It is probably the same defence that is mentioned by Shaw under the name "Fort Cap au Gré."

being 8 above its mouth. Finding our progress to be but slow we left the Keel Boat and again taking to our canoe passed the Town of "Alton," on the Illinois side, having a large Sandbar in front of it; 3 miles further brought us to the mouth of the Missouri, which we welcomed most cordially as an old acquaintance, and at 5 P.M. reached St. Louis having come down the Mississippi from the St. Peters, a distance of 900 miles.

THE 1820 JOURNAL OF STEPHEN
WATTS KEARNY, *comprising* A NARRA-
TIVE ACCOUNT OF THE COUNCIL BLUFF—
ST. PETER'S MILITARY EXPLORATION *and a*
Voyage Down the Mississippi River to St. Louis.

EDITED
BY
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